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# *A Symposium*

EDITED BY JESSIE SAMPTER

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HADASSAH, THE WOMEN'S ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA

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*Dedicated to*

*Louis Dembitz Brandeis*

*and the rest of American Jewish Youth*

## PREFACE TO THE THIRD EDITION

Thirteen years ago, in 1920, there appeared the second edition of the *Guide to Zionism.* Then, too, when all the rest of the work was over, I had to write a Preface, which began thus:

"It is almost four years since the publication of *A Course in Zionism,* the first attempt at a Zionist textbook, and that book is now out of date as well as out of print. With all its imperfections, its purpose has been achieved. In its introduction we read that 'the book necessarily suffers from many defects that should be corrected in a later edition.' That is its achievement. It has deserved a second edition. . . . If the book in its transformation has grown to more than twice its former size, so, too, have the problems, the facts and the Zionist movement itself. No doubt this book with its greater size suffers from even more imperfections than did its predecessor. Our hope, then, must lie in a third edition."

And now I repeat the same, and so *ad infinitum.* The hope of this edition, its mark of achievement, lies in a fourth. For already now, as it goes to press, I wonder whether it will not be going out of date. Events in Palestine, in the Jewish world, in the whole world move swiftly! We are recording a bird's flight as it flies. But that too has its eternal foundation, and what is a chronicle may become a history. The second edition went out of print within a few years of its publication. Naturally it went out of date also, or rather, it did not keep up to date. But the demand for it continued because there appeared no other book to replace it, and the study of Zionism and the demand for information did not lag. But those who had the enthusiasm to form study groups had not the funds to bring out a new edition. Justice Louis D. Brandeis then offered to bear the expenses of this Third Edition. It was he also—I venture now to reveal an old secret—who had made possible the very first edition of the book. And now, in the midst of a crisis, spiritual no less than financial, in American Zionism, in the midst of a "depression" reflected from the whole world, he has the insight and wisdom to see the need for more knowledge and more understanding.

"The book is forward looking. We are poised for action, and the printed word is too static for our purpose. Everything written of Palestine today may even today no longer be wholly true." Again I am quoting from the Preface to the second edition. Since I began to edit this third edition, a year and a half ago, successive events have made it necessary to revise and re-revise it. While the book goes to press, history will not take a vacation. Life in Palestine is in its spring of rapid growth.

The second edition I edited in New York. Before it was published I had emigrated to Palestine. The book looked strange to me then, when I compared knowledge of facts with the facts. During these thirteen years the life of Palestine has been my life and immense changes have been the stuff of life from day to day. The Jewish population has more than trebled. But one does not actually experience numbers; one experiences in indirect ways their impact on life. When I came, the few hundred pioneers were locked away in a few far-off agricultural settlements, dangerous outposts of the Zionist venture. In the cities and even in the large older agricultural villages, the Jews were war-weary, on the whole a middle-aged population which had built something and endured much. Today the *Halutz*, the young pioneer, the Jewish workman who is also the intellectual leader in Palestine, is a powerful and constructive force not only on the land but in the cities as well. Literally speaking, there were no Jewish builders then, no Jewish masons, plasterers and stone hewers. Today Tel Aviv, the important Mediterranean city, which was then a village of 4,000 inhabitants, rises and keeps rising, the work of Jewish builders. In those days, the Vale of Esdraelon, the *Emek*, was an emerald stretch of swamps and wild grass set between opal mountains. Two forlorn Jewish villages braved the ravages of malaria. Today the *Emek*, reclaimed for settlement, has been drained of malarious swamps, is checkered with Jewish fields and orchards and dotted with flourishing Jewish farms and villages. At this writing, building goes on steadily, building and plowing; but we have gone through such vicissitudes, such dizzy leaps from despair to hope, from depression to elation, from "booms" to crashes in these few years that only the wisest among us have learnt to keep their heads and to face crises with steadfastness. There is now no "depression" in Palestine; neither is there any "elation"; and there is much less illusion in Palestine than about it. Our greatest virtue is courage.

It is the one we need most. Our other virtues vary probably according to the demands of life. Palestine is stark. It tests character and endurance, and except for a few negligible social climbers it spews out most boomers and careerists. The Palestine of today is very real, like all the homes of frugality.

But if there is not much emotional inflation, there is a great deal of joy and one reason is that there is a great deal of youth, the other is that there is a great deal of creativity; and these two are really one. Life here feels new, wonderful and free. Someone asked me whether I planned a separate chapter on the youth movements of Palestine, but the whole of Jewish reconstruction in Palestine is a youth movement. Which does not mean that all its workers are young. The time of youth predominates; but even more the spirit of youth. School children, pre-school children, fill an enormous place in our thoughts. Every holiday, crowds of them come marching by, decked with flowers and spouting song. And the chief anxiety and test of the *Halutzim,* the young pioneers, is the education of their children in their own spirit. The first pioneer children are now growing up. They are staying in Palestine, staying on the land. Hope follows their movements.

Of the intensity of our internal problems, social, educational, economic, spiritual, probably no full idea can be given in this book. We are Jews from seventy nations and all the classes that exist. The way to mutual understanding and cooperation is unusually hard but the will is also unusually strong. We are, on the whole, a very peaceful community.

To the two external major problems, our relation to the British Empire and our relation to the other inhabitants of Palestine and to their hinterland, the Arabian countries, also justice cannot be done, as justice can never be done to dynamic life by the word that has become static. Suffice it to say that many mistakes have been made on all sides, but that nevertheless the whole trend of Jewish thought seeks the solution of these problems in mutual understanding and cooperation. The Zionist Organization has put forth its aims in terms of peace. But all that is merely said means little. It is the Jews of Palestine, present and future, who will solve their own problems. Even now, what the Zionist Organization does for Palestine and what is done in Palestine are two entirely different things. For example, now the Zionist Organization and its social services—education, health, immigration—are seriously

handicapped and endangered by the financial depression abroad, especially in America. Meanwhile capital is flowing into the country, the meagre but active capital of Jews who have saved something from the wreck and are planting it here. And life itself builds here. Here, on the spot, and now, in the land, springs our salvation. We must find the way to life and peace with our nearest neighbors, "the stranger at the gate." And to forestall too drastic and impatient criticism, I shall quote one of my favorite poems, by Edward Lear:

"There was an old man of Hong-Kong
Who never did anything wrong.
He lay on his back
With his head in a sack,
This inoccuous old man of Hong-Kong."

The goodwill of many persons has gone to the making of this book. Of the former edition only the purely historical parts have been embodied in this edition, and even these have undergone revision. I had helpful advice and criticism on various chapters, and also service in finding writers for some of them, from friendly persons here and abroad: Dr. A. J. Braver, Dr. M. David Eder, Mr. Elias M. Epstein, Mr. F. Julius Fohs, Mr. David Horowitz, Dr. Bernard Joseph, Mr. Nathan D. Kaplan, Mr. Boris Kazmann, Mrs. Nellie Straus Mochinsohn, Mr. Maurice Samuel, Miss Henrietta Szold and Mr. I. Ben Zwi. Dr. Hugo Bergman, of the National and Hebrew University Library, put useful material at my disposal; and *The Palestine and Middle East Economic Magazine* gave me the freedom of its files and other helpful cooperation from its staff. The Zionist Information Bureau put itself at my service. Others who helped me to collect material are Miss Eudice Elkind, Mrs. Ann Foner Heiman and Mr. Cecil Heiman. The Jewish National Fund supplied photographs for the illustrations, putting a large choice at my disposal. Mrs. Nellie Straus Mochinsohn contributed the translation of the chapter on *Palestine Since the World War,* and Miss Adele Bawly of the chapter on *Art in Palestine.* All the rest of the translating was done by Mrs. Ann Foner Heiman. Both the young women who were employed on the secretarial and stenographic work, Mrs. Emma Ehrlich and Miss Betty Kruss, volunteered much valuable service on other aspects of the

work, and were so helpful and cooperative that my very special thanks is due to them.

To all these my thanks, and to all those others, unmentioned here, who in various ways eased and furthered the enterprise.

Miss Hortense Levy has worked on the book with me steadily, both during her visit here and in America before and after it. Valuable as she has been as co-editor, and hard as she has labored at this exacting task, her continuous encouragement and good comradeship in the work have been invaluable aids. It is she and her American Committee of the Hadassah Women's Zionist Organization who are in the last resort responsible for the book in the final form in which it appears; many changes have been made of which I was willing to remain uninformed because of my confidence in their ability and judgment; and in the end perhaps not less of the work will have been done on the other side of the Atlantic than at this end of the Mediterranean. Yet I am ready to share responsibility for the many faults this book no doubt contains. May its greatest virtue be that it deserves a fourth edition!

Rehoboth, Palestine, January 20, 1933.

## AMERICAN PREFACE

In recognition of Miss Sampter's desire that the American Committee assume ultimate responsibility for this, the third edition of her book, it is desirable that an accounting be made of the work done here. Needless to say, the all-important work was done by Miss Sampter herself, who lay the groundwork of form and policy, decided what subjects must be covered and actually produced these chapters through her own writing and through that of the experts selected by her.

But as the compilers of other symposia have discovered, it takes longer to finish a book which has twenty authors than if there were but one. Inevitably the people who undertook to write upon their particular subjects are busy and often, through circumstances beyond control, many months passed between the undertaking of the writing and the finishing of a chapter. As a result, one of the most serious responsibilities of the American Committee became that of bringing up to the latest possible date all chapters dealing with present conditions. As practically all these chapters were written in Palestine, this final revision had to be made by people here who, as visitors from Palestine or as experts in these fields, were best able to make these revisions without the loss of time which would have resulted had the chapters been again returned to the original writers. It is a delicate matter to make changes in articles written by others, but as the need of the future reader seemed of paramount importance, the Committee dared to make such revisions upon their own responsibility. As Miss Sampter says, life moves so swiftly in Palestine that the latest reports are inadequate in a short time.

Another equally serious difficulty confronted this Committee. Some chapters had been written in America. Others were revised from the last edition. After the list of chapters had been accepted as complete, other subjects were found which demanded inclusion. With the passing of the months, the book grew to unwieldy lengths. It began to look as if we had enough material for two volumes which had to be compressed into one. The ungrateful

task of cutting it devolved upon this Committee. In the end, the blue pencil was wielded, often without mercy but always with regret. The chapter on geography, which had already given Miss Sampter much trouble, was rewritten completely in half the original number of pages. Reprints from the last edition were compressed as much as possible. The present, living Palestine crowded out the past. All subjects dealt with in other publications, such as the historical phases, have been cut to a minimum.

English transliteration of Hebrew presented thorny problems. A list of place-names recently issued by the Vaad Leumi has been followed as the most authoritative one available. The spelling of other names not on that list, personal names and words, all will evoke protests from various readers and while the Committee recognizes that these spellings are far from perfect, they have followed as far as possible the latest tendencies in transliteration.

It is realized that similar articles, such as those on health, education, agriculture, etc., have appeared recently in various other publications. It is believed, however, that in this book these subjects have been gathered into logical sequence, dealt with fully, and bound together so as to give the student or interested reader a complete survey of the new Palestine with its wide sweep of national feeling and its varied expressions of the Jewish spirit.

An incredible amount of work has been done in this country. The American Economic Committee for Palestine, through the many experts connected with it, made the final revision of all those chapters which deal with their particular field. And not only the members of our own Committee, but others too numerous to mention, have given unstintingly of their time. To all these, unnamed because the list is too long, this Committee gives its appreciative thanks.

This book, the final result of so many hands and so much devotion, now goes to the reader with the sincere hope that it may in some small measure fill the place designed for it by Justice Louis D. Brandeis, and recommended for it by Dr. Albert Einstein.

AMERICAN COMMITTEE,

HORTENSE LEVY, *Chairman,*
JULLIET N. BENJAMIN,
SOPHIE UDIN GINGOLD,
MINNIE W. HALPERN.

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# GEOGRAPHY OF PALESTINE

BY DAVID WERNER AMRAM

Nine times we are told in the Bible that Israel dwelt in the land from Dan to Beer Sheba, and these are the limits of Palestine today. Officially Palestine extends south of Beer Sheba in a long wedge to the Gulf of Akaba, but practically this southern strip is negligible, a stony inhospitable land given over to the Bedouin. Near Dan in the extreme north of Palestine lies the Jewish settlement Metulla; thence southward along the Upper Jordan and the Lake of Galilee to Bethshan; thence northwestward along the Plain or Valley of Jezreel to Mount Carmel and Haifa; thence again southward along the Mediterranean Sea to Gedera, a distance of more than one hundred and fifty miles, are to be found nearly all the Jewish lands and settlements. A few other Jewish possessions are along the line from Jaffa to Jerusalem and there is the great Jewish town of Tel Aviv and the modern Jewish suburb of Jerusalem. Finally there are Ruhama east of the old Philistine city of Gaza and Beer Sheba in the extreme south, the old home of Abraham.

Although the modern Jewish settlements extend over a line of more than a hundred and fifty miles, the total length of Palestine north and south between the parallels of latitude 33° 15′ and 31° 15′ is only one hundred and forty miles, about as far as from New York to Newport or from Philadelphia to New Haven. The distances from west to east are still less. As the crow flies from Acco to Tiberias, it is about thirty miles; from Jaffa to Jerusalem, about thirty-five miles; from Jaffa to the Jordan, about forty-five miles. The Valley of Jezreel, the Emek, is about forty miles long, and at no point in the settled portion of Palestine is the distance from west to east as great as the distance from Philadelphia to Atlantic City.

This little strip of land, tucked away in southwestern Asia within striking distance of Africa and Europe, contains lowland and highland and climatic ranges from tropics to snows.

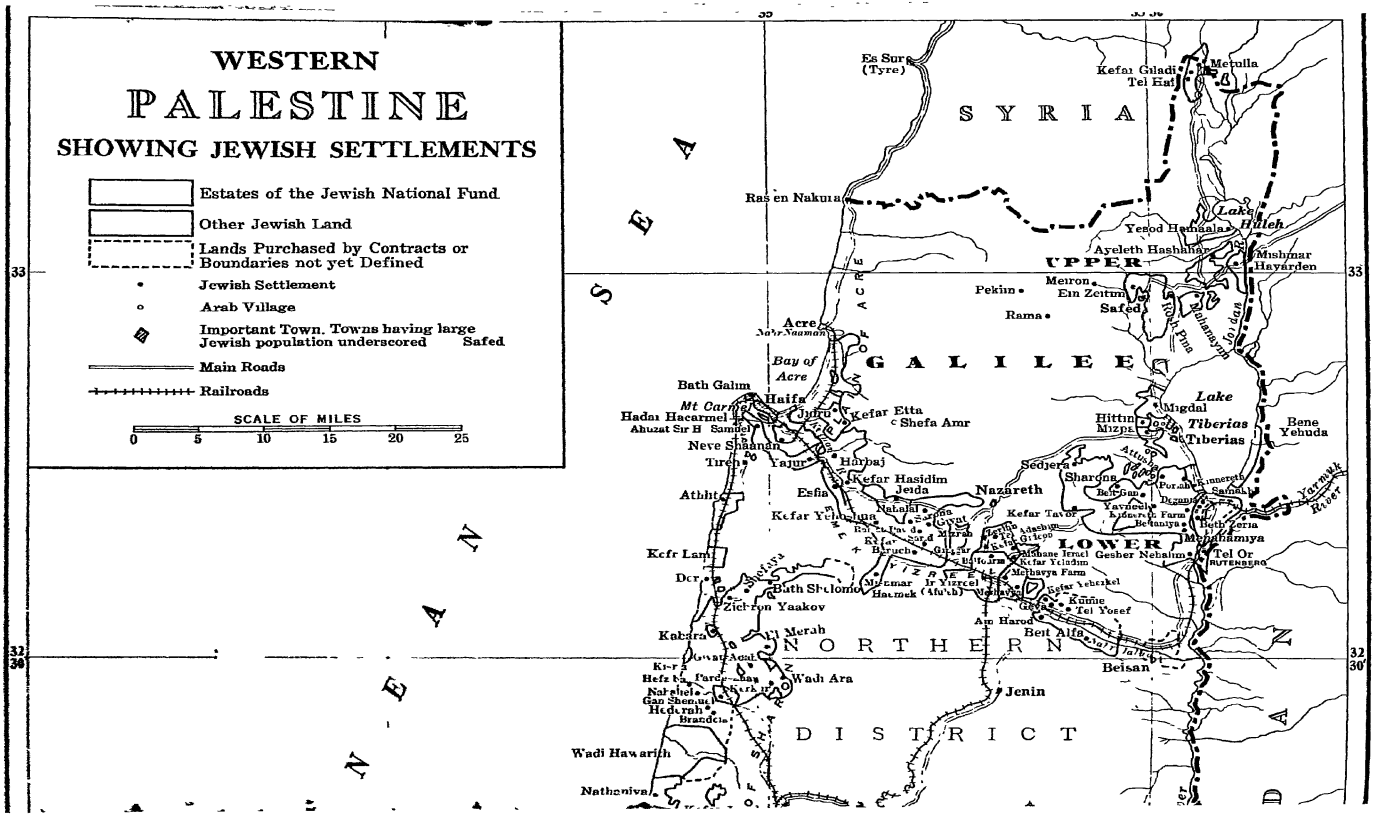
Along the Mediterranean Sea a maritime plain runs northward

in a long irregular wedge narrowing to a few hundred feet at the foot of Mount Carmel on the north and widening out to about twenty miles in the latitude south of Jaffa. In the southern part of this plain dwelt the ancient Philistines who gave Palestine its name. North of Philistia the lowland is known as the Plain of Sharon, about forty miles long and from eight to twelve miles wide. It ends at the foot of Mount Carmel and a passage into the Valley of Jezreel may be found either around Carmel or through a short-cut about thirty miles south of Carmel in the Valley of Dothan, famous as the place where Joseph was sold by his brethren.

To the east of the plains of Philistia and Sharon lies the Shefelah, anciently the name of the low hills south of the Valley of Ajalon, but in modern times used both of the maritime plain and the low hills as distinguished from the mountainous country to the east.The Shefelah and the mountains running north and south are intersected by a number of valleys running east and west, the most notable being the Valley of Jezreel, Valley of Ajalon and the Valley of Sorek. The Valley of Ajalon, about the latitude of Jerusalem, is remembered as the place where the moon stood still conveniently at Joshua's request until he could finish his battle. The Valley of Sorek was the ancient playground of Samson and now is the roadbed for the railroad from Jaffa to Jerusalem.

To the east of the Shefelah lie the central mountains of Palestine, running north from Judea through Samaria and then on the one side of the Emek into Galilee. Eastward from the mountains the land drops steeply into the Valley of the Jordan.

The Valley of Jezreel, sometimes called Esdraelon, is known today among the Jewish settlers as the Emek, the Valley, and contains the most fertile soil in the land. The ancients who named it must have known this, for Yizre'el, the original Hebrew form of Jezreel, means "God is the Planter." The Emek is a great plain connected on the west with the maritime plain around the slope of Carmel and through the Valley of Dothan, and extending to the east into the Valley of the Jordan. Through the Emek runs the railroad from Haifa (Mount Carmel to Bethshan, then turning north to the Sea of Galilee, then again east to the junction with the railroad to Damascus), and the River Kishon drains the valley from Mount Gilboa to the Bay of Acre. In the Emek a thousand events of historical interest have taken place from the days when


WESTERN
PALESTINE
SHOWING JEWISH SETTLEMENTS
Estates of the Jewish National Fund
Other Jewish Land
Lands Purchased by Contracts or Boundaries not yet Defined
Jewish Settlement
Arab Village
Important Town. Towns having large Jewish population underscored Safed
Main Roads
Railroads
SCALE OF MILES
0 5 10 15 20 25
SYRIA
GALILEE
UPPER
LOWER
NORTHERN
DISTRICT
Es Sur (Tyre)
Kefar Giladi
Tel Hai
Metulla
Ras en Nakura
Lake Huleh
Yesod Hamaala
Ayeleth Hashahar
Mishmar Hayarden
Meiron
Ein Zeitim
Safed
Pekiin
Rama
Acre
Bay of Acre
Bath Galim
Haifa
Mt Carmel
Hadar Hacarmel
Ahuzat Sir H
Sameh
Neve Shaanan
Tirche
Yajur
Harbaj
Kefar Etta
Shefa Amr
Migdal
Lake Tiberias
Hittin
Mizpe
Tiberias
Bene Yehuda
Sedjera
Sharona
Kefar Hasidim
Jeida
Esfia
Athlit
Nazareth
Kefar Yehoshua
Nahalal
Kefar Tavor
Kefr Lam
Dor
Bath Shelomo
Ziehron Yaakov
Kabara
Merah
Ir Yizreel
Mizmar (Afule)
Hamek
Kunie
Tel Yosef
Am Harod
Beit Alfa
Beisan
Jenin
Wadi Ara
Wadi Hawarith
Nathaniya
Mishmar Haemek
Gesher Haziv
Nahalal
Tel Or
Ruthenberg
Yarmuk River
Jordan River
Kishon River
Acre River

Deborah sang Barak's victory over Sisera to September, 1918, when Allenby drove out the remnants of the Turkish army.

North of the Emek lies Galilee, the ancient Gelil Hagoyim, District of the Gentiles. Although its eastern and southern parts are interpenetrated with modern Jewish settlements, it is still best known to the Gentile world as the district in which Nazareth lies. Here on the border of Galilee on the upper Jordan is the northernmost Jewish settlement Metulla.

The River Jordan soon after passing through Lake Hula or the Waters of Meron becomes worthy of its name, "The Descender." It drops nearly seven hundred feet within ten miles, for at the Sea of Galilee, into which it empties, it is six hundred and eighty-two feet below the level of the Mediterranean Sea. On leaving the Sea of Galilee, the Jordan drops within a few miles another one hundred and fifty feet, and there at its junction with the River Yarmuk, Ruttenberg has located the great hydro-electric plant by which the water power of these ancient rivers will illuminate all Palestine. Thence southward the fall of the river is continuous, until at the Dead Sea it is twelve hundred and ninety-two feet below the Mediterranean.

## CLIMATE AND GEOLOGY

The great varieties of climate in Palestine encourage the growth of all of the products of the temperate, sub-tropical and tropical zones. It rains pretty steadily from October to May, with a maximum precipitation in January; and with the gradual extension of the use of subterranean waters and reforestation of the denuded hills, all portions of the land may again be restored to great productivity. The portions now under cultivation in fruit, vegetables and grain respond splendidly to the modern art of the cultivator and the science of the agronomist. The only extraordinary feature of the physical structure of the land is the tremendous depression constituting the Jordan Valley. At some remote period a violent break or fault in the crust of the earth extending southward into Africa, sunk the valley in which the Dead Sea, the Jordan and the waters to the north now lie. Anciently this Great Depression was filled with water up to the level of the Mediterranean; then evaporation and condensation left the Dead Sea, the saltiest sea in the world, and precipitation left the enormous deposits of valuable

chemicals, which are now being utilized for industrial, agricultural and medicinal needs. The fundamental underlying rocks of Palestine are covered largely by sandstone and this in turn by limestone, which furnishes the principal building material today. The minerals which are usually associated with wealth are missing in Palestine. It has neither gold nor silver nor copper, neither coal nor iron, and though there may be oil and natural gas, these have not yet been found. But in spite of this lack the resources of the chemical deposits around the Dead Sea and the water power furnished by the Jordan and the Yarmuk presage an era of self-sufficiency for the land.

### ARCHAEOLOGY

The study of the antiquities of Palestine is in its infancy. Turkish misrule, Moslem and Christian religious prejudice, the War and the lack of funds have combined to retard the progress of archaeological research. Field work was commenced in 1891 under the direction of Flinders-Petrie at Lachish near Gaza. He there unearthed many culture strata through Egyptian, Amorite, Philistine, Hebrew, Assyrian and Greek periods. Excavations at Gezer about twenty miles west of Jerusalem by Macalister unearthed strata which went back still further, even to the Cave Men of the Neolithic Age. Germans and Austrians excavated at Megiddo and Taanach in the Emek. Since the War, the British have greatly encouraged further research through the establishment of an official department of antiquities and the greatest progress has been made during the last ten years, to which among others the Universities of Pennsylvania, Harvard, Chicago and Yale, the Jewish Archaeological Society of Palestine and the Hebrew University have contributed. Of special interest are the discoveries of ancient synagogues, especially the work of Dr. E. Sukenik at Beth Alpha and El Hamma and in his unearthing the so-called Third Wall of Jerusalem. The discovery of remains of the earliest humans, the Neanderthal Man, in the caves at Mount Carmel by Miss Garrod is of outstanding importance to anthropology.

# THE JEWS IN PALESTINE THROUGHOUT HISTORY

BY LOTTA LEVENSOHN

The Jews lost Palestine. They were scattered to the four corners of the earth. And so we naturally think of Palestine as losing the Jews, too, but Palestine never lost all of her Jews. The fact is that throughout every period of history there have been some Jews in Palestine. However, since the dispersion, Palestine which has always occupied a central position in Jewish spiritual life, has been far less important in a material sense to the actual development of the Jewish people than have some of the other lands of their sojourn.

## IN BIBLICAL TIMES

The earliest Hebraic association with Palestine is that of the Patriarch Abraham. This ancient linking of Israel's hope with Palestine finds historic fulfillment in actual possession under Joshua after the Exodus from Egypt, probably about the year 1455 B.C.E. At that time and for some time thereafter the Jews were no doubt a minority in the land struggling with a hostile and preponderant population. Under the Judges, they were at certain periods actually subject to some of these peoples, and they suffered also from numerous raids from the Midianites, the roving tribes east of the Jordan, forefathers no doubt of the still marauding Bedouin tribes of today. That the Children of Israel at all maintained themselves and finally became a majority in the land was due to the division and mutual hostility of their neighbors and to the unity of the Twelve Tribes of Israel. The defeat of the Jews whenever they deserted God for the idols of their neighbors, and their interpretation of their history in this sense, as evidenced throughout the Bible, is a fact of profound political as well as moral significance. The unity of God implied the unity of Israel. Thus their faith became their strongest weapon of defence and offence. Under the Kings David and Solomon that spirit of unity was crystallized in the Temple at Jerusalem to which all Israel was commanded to go

up for sacrifice and worship. At that time also the mountain stronghold of Jerusalem came to be the center of a powerful kingdom, including at one time even Damascus in the north and Akaba on the Red Sea, which practically unified Palestine, sweeping away the Philistine from the coast and gaining a strong foothold east of the Jordan. That kingdom in its unified strength lasted for barely two generations. Political existence in Palestine was at all times difficult, for the following reasons: (1) It was practically an oasis between two deserts, east and south, open to continuous marauding attacks from the nomad peoples of the wilderness. (2) It lay on the highway between powerful empires in Egypt and Mesopotamia, so that it became their inevitable battle-ground and was likely to fall prey to either. (3) It was inhabited by a medley of tribes thrown over it by successive waves of migration. (4) Its great variety of climate and conformation made unified control difficult. Most of these difficulties were due to its unique and remarkable position at the juncture of three continents. These difficulties, too, developed the marvelous political insight of the Jewish teachers, exemplified especially in the statesmanlike utterances of the Prophets. This political insight transcends the political vision of all succeeding ages. And it was violation of the laws laid down for national guidance which caused the final overthrow of the Israelitish nation about 722 B.C.E. The nation was divided in two parts, due to the oppressive kingship of Judah, its southern portion. The division of worship caused thereby undermined the morale especially of Israel, the northern portion, which could not worship at the sanctuary in Jerusalem. Idol worship reappeared. The armies of Assyria and Babylonia swept over the weakened and divided nation, and found only divided resistance. The northern kingdom, which fell first, utterly disappeared. But the southern kingdom, which had Jerusalem, the Temple and the faith of God in its midst, resisted destruction even in exile in Babylonia. The Prophetic voice recalled it to its unique political rôle. Isaiah's teaching of its spiritual rôle among the nations no doubt saved Judah from the fate of the Ten Tribes. Although in 586 B.C.E. the Temple was despoiled and Jerusalem laid waste, the Jews after seventy years returned to Jerusalem and rebuilt the Temple with the permission of Cyrus, the Persian King who repatriated them.

UNDER PERSIA, GREECE AND ROME

Chastened by suffering, they set up a religious or moral commonwealth which flourished for several centuries under Persian suzerainty. During this time the Bible took its final form. Jewish communities began to grow up in many parts of the world, all of which, however, looked to Jerusalem and the Temple as their center, and for centuries collected the annual *shekel* or poll tax that was sent by Jews from all parts of the world for the upkeep of the Temple. True during that period to its ideals of democratic autonomy, the little nation in Palestine needed no further independence, and the transfer of power from Persia to the Greece of Alexander seems not greatly to have affected Jewish conditions there. However, after the death of Alexander, his Syrian minions, more Greek than the Greeks, tried to force Hellenistic *Kultur* on all the peoples of Syria. It was then that they met first the passive and later the active resistance of the greater part of the Jewish nation, under the leadership of the Maccabees, whose religious freedom was assailed by the assault on customs, ceremonies and forms of worship that were bound up with the whole life of the Jewish polity. After the Maccabean revolt (168 B.C.E.) had ended gloriously for the Jews, a Jewish kingdom was again set up in Palestine. (For warnings against kingship, see Judges 8:22, 23 and Samuel I, 10:17-19 and 12:6-15 and 19-22.)

That kingdom of the Hasmoneans and the Herods who succeeded them did not long keep the noble spirit of the revolt, but degenerated into an Oriental monarchy, splendid and despotic. However, the kernel of the Jewish people remained true. The Pharisees, as against the aristocratic classes, carried forward in their own way the traditions of Prophet and Scribe; that is, of a leadership of ability and election, not of heredity.

Palestine was overrun and shot through by strands of many civilizations and peoples. Greek culture lived side by side with the Jewish, and Rome gradually dominated the land and sapped Jewish political independence. Finally came the Jewish revolt, the destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple and, in 70 C.E., the complete overthrow of Judaea by the Romans.

But, though the Jews were defeated, they were not conquered. The school and the court of religious legislation (*Sanhedrin*), which now became the safe haven of Jewish spiritual values, were

transferred by Yohanan ben Zakkai, one of the Pharisaic teachers, from the ruined temple at Jerusalem to the little coast town of Yavneh. This was done with the permission of the conqueror Titus, who could not have dreamed that he was releasing a force stronger than his invincible legions. The school at Yavneh saved the Jewish people. Around it gathered scholars and disciples. The Palestinian schools for many generations amplified and expounded the Oral Law, that body of interpretation and rulings which had grown up around the Bible or Written Law. The Patriarch Judah I, about 189 C.E. codified this Oral Law in the *Mishnah,* written down at last, to save it in case all the scholars should be slain. Such was the danger to Jewish life in Palestine. During the next 200 years, this *Mishnah* was further interpreted, and around it grew up the Jerusalem Talmud.

The first six centuries of the Common Era in Palestine were marked by a series of Jewish rebellions against the might of Rome and its successors. The most important of these, and one that seemed for awhile to promise Jewish triumph, was led by Bar Kochba in 132 C.E., who recaptured Jerusalem and made Judaea independent for two years. He was hailed by Rabbi Akiba as the Messiah. But, after a desperate defense, Bar Kochba was defeated and slain by the overwhelming might of Rome, and the Jewish lot became harder than ever. Jerusalem was razed; Jews were forbidden to approach it; and on its site rose a Roman city called Aelia Capitolina. At this time the Jewish Christians first turned sharply against the Jews, refusing to support the revolt and even acting as informers. It now happened, too, that Rome realized the national significance of the study of the Law and made it a capital offence. Akiba, among others, died a martyr to this oppression of the *Torah.* Each unsuccessful rebellion left the Jews in a more pitiable state.

### UNDER THE BYZANTIAN EMPIRE

In 324, the Roman Emperor Constantine adopted Christianity, and Palestine fell under the shadow of the Cross. Palestine now became a land of Christian pilgrimages, of churches, nunneries, hermitages. Fanaticism was preached, and the Jews were its constant prey. The Patriarchate—which was a Rabbinic succession of Jewish teachers in Palestine who were accepted practically as rulers and judges by the Jews—came to an end in 425, under the reign

of Theodosius I, Emperor of the East. Under Byzantian rule, for over 200 years, the Jews suffered great oppression, which was only intensified by their occasional unsuccessful rebellions. Under Christian rule the strictest of Roman anti-Jewish edicts were revived and surpassed. As under the Roman Hadrian, Jews were again forbidden to enter Jerusalem.

### UNDER ISLAM

Islam, the second great religion to spring from Judaism, had its origin in Arabia. From there it swept over the Eastern world by means of the sword, and in 633 Palestine, too, came under its sway. In principle, Islam greatly restricted the freedom of both Jews and Christians, but in practice the rule of the Caliph Omar was a boon to the Jews. About 684, the Mosque of Omar was erected in Jerusalem on the Temple site. For 200 years Palestine had rest and quiet under the Damascus Caliphate and later under the rule of Moslem Egypt. The population of Palestine was compounded of many peoples, Christian, Moslem and Jewish. There was much flux because of the central position of the land. In the eleventh century a group of Jews from Germany came to find refuge in Palestine under liberal Moslem rule, and for a while Jerusalem became once more famous as a seat of Jewish learning.

### THE LATIN KINGDOM—THE CRUSADES

But the Crusades ended that happy interval. The first Crusade deluged Europe with Jewish blood before ever these Christian "redeemers" neared the soil of the Holy Land. In 1099 Jerusalem was taken from the Moslems by Godfrey de Bouillon, who founded the Latin Kingdom. He celebrated its capture by a massacre of Moslems and by burning all the Jews of Jerusalem alive in a synagogue. After a time, however, a stable government was set up, the country was irrigated and became fruitful and beautiful as in its happiest days. Industry and commerce flourished to such an extent that Palestine became a commercial center for Europe, Asia and Africa. Then the cosmopolitan life of the country did away with much of Christian fanaticism against the Jews. Jewish artisans, merchants and physicians prospered. Jewish pilgrims again came to their land, among them, in the twelfth century, Judah

Halevi, the great Hebrew poet of Spain, Maimonides, most renowned of Jewish philosophers, and the noted traveler, Benjamin of Tudela.

### THE MOSLEMS AGAIN

With the end of the twelfth century, the Moslems under the Saracen Saladin overthrew Christian rule, and after a century of struggle Palestine again prospered. It was a comparatively happy time for the Jews. As early as 1267 the famous Spanish-Jewish scholar Nahmanides re-established a Jewish community in Palestine. He introduced the study of the *Kabbala.* Later followed a migration of Jews from the Rhine. Under Egyptian Moslem rule in the fourteenth century, the Jews found shelter and freedom when Europe, dominated by the church, persecuted them. The country flourished. Jewish pilgrims and immigrants abounded. Commerce and industry prospered. Jerusalem and Hebron had wealthy Jewish communities, and there were also shepherd communities in southern Palestine.

However, the religious and spiritual leadership of Jewry remained in the Diaspora. It passed from Babylon to Spain, and later to Poland.

The expulsion of the Jews from Spain, in 1492, resulted in a large migration to Palestine, which Sultan Bejazet welcomed. Many Jews settled in Jerusalem and Safed, the latter becoming a famous center of *Kabbalistic* study.

### UNDER THE TURK

In 1516 Palestine passed to the sovereignty of Constantinople and the Turk. This rather improved the political status of the Jews. Joseph Nassi, a wealthy and cultured Spanish exile, was confidential adviser to the Sultan Suleiman, who made him Duke of Naxos. For a time a revival of Jewish colonization seemed possible. However, later, Turkish rule degenerated; it became incompetent and corrupt; and in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the Jews sank into a slough of poverty and dependency. The whole land degenerated economically. Those Jews who were artisans could find little work, and the majority, meagrely supported by charity from abroad, devoted their time to study of the Law.

### REVIVAL OF EUROPEAN INTEREST IN PALESTINE

The invasion of Napoleon Bonaparte, in 1798, was an episode that had no lasting effect upon the country. So, too, the political bickerings of Turkey and Egypt during the early part of the nineteenth century. This century saw a revival of interest in Palestine on the part of Christians as well as of Jews. Missionaries came from the West; pilgrims from Russia flocked every Eastertide to the Holy Land. The Greek and Latin churches established headquarters in Jerusalem. The quarrels among Christian sects became so scandalous that the Sultan was forced to install a Turkish guard to keep the peace in the church of the Holy Sepulchre.

National-political rivalries were the inspiration of a number of religious foundations. France for a time regarded herself as the protector of all Roman Catholics in Palestine of whatever nationality.

The year 1840 saw a revival of the Blood Accusation in Damascus. The tortures endured by the Jews there aroused Christian as well as Jewish indignation in Europe, caused international political action, and brought to Palestine Adolphe Crémieux and Sir Moses Montefiore.

### JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS IN PALESTINE

The West European Jews became actively interested in the helpless situation of the Palestinian Jews, and in the course of the nineteenth century established schools, workrooms, hospitals and other institutions. The most prominent of the organizations which worked in behalf of the old *Yishub* were the *Hilfsverein der Deutschen Juden,* the *Alliance Israelite Universelle,* and the *Anglo-Jewish Association.* Their palliative efforts could not, however, change the economic status of the Jews of the old *Yishub.*

### THE HALUKA

For many centuries it has been the custom all over the Jewish world to send money for the support of students of the Law in Palestine. This pious motive, coupled with the lack of economic opportunities, operated to build up an elaborate system of distribution of funds, the *Haluka,* and of collection in the Diaspora

by paid agents sent out from Palestine (*Meshullahim*). Many abuses crept into the *Haluka.* Questionable methods were used both in its collection and its distribution. Though the recipients and their families lived in the extremest poverty, they were pauperized by their unearned income. With the revival of the country, many of the young people of the *Old Yishub* began to show themselves eager to earn their own livelihood. Since the War, the *Haluka* has played an ever diminishing part in the life of Palestine.

### JEWISH CULTURE

It was obviously impossible for the Jews in Palestine, during the ages of disinheritance, even to approach the spiritual attainments of the Kingdom or of the Second Commonwealth or of the chief centers of the Diaspora. But despite their status, or lack of it, they did keep the lamp of Jewish learning alight in the Land and they did help to preserve the Hebrew language, one of the chiefest treasures of the Jewish people, until a virile nationalism arose to nourish and to foster it.

# THE NATIONAL IDEAL IN JEWISH HISTORY

LOTTA LEVENSOHN AND DR. AARON SCHAFFER

## ZIONISM IS AS OLD AS JUDAISM

Zionism is as old as the Jewish people itself. Certainly it is as old as Jewish history.

In the days of the Egyptian bondage, we already find the concepts of the Chosen People, the Promised Land, the national leader, and the concept of a national-spiritual rôle among the nations. The Torah included purely civil and state laws which could have no application outside of the land. Later, the Prophets, the scribes, the rabbi-sages, the poets and the statesmen, leaders in whom the Jewish people have been so rich, were the bearers of the historic message of Zionism through all the national vicissitudes. Only the term, the name, of Zionism, remained to be coined. *Mathias Acher* (Nathan Birnbaum) was the first to use that name for the modern Zionist activity (1886). The idea and the ideals embedded within it have had other manifestations and other names; essentially, the prime motives in Jewish thought are to be looked for in national idealism.

## ZIONISM IS AN OUTGROWTH OF MESSIANISM

Zionism is the lineal descendant of the Messianic idea. This idea assumed various forms at different periods, and it varied, too, with the leaders of the times; that is to say, it was not necessarily expressed in a more advanced form at later periods. For instance, Isaiah's vision of the Millennium, of the golden age when Zion was to become the spiritual center of mankind, is hardly of a piece with the Kabbalistic speculations during the Middle Ages as to the date of the Messiah's miraculous appearance to lead the children of Israel back to their own land. The Messiah was at times conceived as an individual, a descendant of David, "*Mashiah ben David*

*Avdeha,*" who would appear to save the people at a critical time. In another conception, he was to be the model king who would re-ascend the throne of David at the "end of days"—as the biblical phrase has it—to rule in righteousness and justice. However, in the popular sense, he was (and still is) to be the Heaven-sent redeemer to lead Israel out of the Exile to a glorious future in the Land of the Fathers. Then again, we have the inspiring prophecies of a Messianic era, "When they shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountain," "When the nations shall not learn war any more," "When the knowledge of the Lord shall cover the earth as the waters cover the sea."

### THE PROPHETS OF ISRAEL WERE ALL ZIONISTS

More specifically, we find the idea of a chastened remnant restored to the Land of Israel enunciated by Amos and Isaiah, in times when the kingdoms of Israel and of Judah were at the zenith of their power and prestige. Amos was accused of sedition for prophesying the destruction and the ultimate restoration of Israel, when he chose the royal sanctuary at Bethel whence to sound his warning of woes to come. Such words as "Israel shall surely be led captive out of his land" could hardly have been welcomed, or for that matter, believed by the powerful masters of those days. Amos concluded his message with the good Zionist doctrine that "God will plant them upon their land, and they shall no more be plucked out of their land which He has given them."

Isaiah, more than a hundred years before the destruction of the First Temple, iterated and reiterated the doctrine of *Sh'ar Yashub:* "A remnant shall return." In the same breath that he foretold national ruin, he promised the resumption of a purified national life in later times by a saving remnant who would take up the national-spiritual rôle for which God had destined the Jewish people from the beginning.

And the great unknown Prophet, whom for lack of better knowledge we call the Second Isaiah, arose in the Babylonian captivity to preach, in terse, vivid phrases, that Palestine would become the center of the world; that all the peoples of the Earth would be drawn there by the spiritual power generated by the People Israel.

### EZRA AND NEHEMIAH

The return to the Holy Land under Ezra and Nehemiah was curiously like the present return under modern Zionism. It was made possible by the declaration and good will of the government of an Empire; and it, too, was undertaken by a very small part of the Jewish people, strengthened and supported in their effort by those who stayed behind. But at the time it must have seemed to have far less international significance than the present movement; and since it took place after only seventy instead of two thousand years of exile, it was not so extraordinary a phenomenon.

### THE JEWISH GOLDEN AGE IN THE FUTURE

The Jews have ever seen a divine purpose in their history. It is this which gave them strength to endure. The ideal of the Millennium is bound up with the life of the Jewish people.

Always the Jewish idea of the golden age differed from the beliefs of the other peoples of the ancient world (with whom the Jews were coeval). For the Greek, for instance, the golden age had coincided with the childhood of the human race, with its "age of innocence," as it were. The Jew, on the contrary, always set the Millennium ahead of his own day, thus proving himself an incorrigible optimist. His faith in progress, in the divine, upward trend of human nature, has never wavered, however seemingly conclusive his experience to the contrary.

### PERSISTENCE OF THE NATIONAL IDEAL IN MANY FORMS

The national significance of the Maccabaean revolt must not be overlooked. Begun as a defensive war against Antiochus, who would have destroyed Judaism by enforcing idol worship and the desecration of Jewish Law, it ended as the mightiest effort to preserve political and national independence ever displayed by so small a nation: So closely are Jewish religion and Jewish nationality interwoven.

In the early days after the destruction of the Second Commonwealth by the Romans, the regaining of national independence was still thought of in political terms, as witness the rebellion of Bar Kochba. Though Rabbi Akiba hailed Bar Kochba as the Messiah,

his rabbinical colleagues and the bulk of the Jewish people regarded him as a political rebel. His failure, tragic as it was, did not militate against the Messianic hope, because that was a thing apart in the minds of the people.

It must not be forgotten how closely the study of the Law at this period was bound up with national life and hope. Akiba himself died a martyr because he persisted in studying Jewish Law, in defiance of the Roman prohibition. That prohibition was of course on national grounds. When, half a century earlier, after the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans, Johanan ben Zakkai had asked and obtained permission to found the Academy at Jabneh, he did so to preserve the Jewish national spirit, even though the national body was stricken. The Law was to be preserved for the certain future national restoration. This same hope and faith underlie all the legalism of the Diaspora.

Christianity arose at the time when the whole ancient world was tense with expectation for the Messiah, the savior, who would set up a new order of things, and provide the corrupt pagan civilization with ideals worth living for. Though Christianity grew out of Jewish soil, both literally and figuratively, the Messiahship of Jesus was at first ignored and then emphatically rejected by the consensus of Jewish opinion. Christianity has had not the slightest influence except by negation, upon the trend of the Messianic idea.

As the darkness of the Middle Ages settled down upon Europe, the Jews were subjected to breath-taking cruelties. The simplest, most elementary human rights were withheld from them; and they had to exist as best they could on the tolerance of the Christian world. The Jews remained alive because they came of a race endowed with such superb physical and spiritual vitality that it would not die. But neither could it live. And so, while Europe lay in the torpor of the Middle Ages, the Jews lived in a state of suspended animation, and dreamed their way through those dark days.

And the Jewish nation continued to live in the hearts and minds of the Jews. Even after the center of Jewry had been removed from Palestine to Babylon, the Holy Land always remained uppermost with the sages of the Talmud. Their feelings on the subject are revealed in the injunction calling on the Jews to live in a Palestinian city most of whose inhabitants are non-Jews, rather than in a city outside of Palestine, most of whose inhabitants are Jews.

These feelings were constantly exhibited, and in a hundred different ways, such as the law that a man could compel his wife to accompany him to Palestine under penalty of forfeiting her dower right, but could not compel her to emigrate from Palestine with him, or in the popular belief that the resurrection of the Jewish dead would take place in Palestine.

As the centuries rolled by, this hope of a return to Palestine never died in the breast of the Jew. As a return in large numbers, however, grew more and more unlikely, the hope took on a spiritual, deeply religious form. The order of daily and holiday prayers, which became fixed during these centuries, is full of references to the return of the Divine Presence to the Holy Land.

Nor did days of ease and plenty weaken that yearning, that national passion. The medieval Jewish poets of Spain, in the golden days of Judaism there, sang of Zion the desolate. And Judah Halevy even translated his poems into action, by leaving home and ease and friends in Spain, to make a pilgrimage to his beloved Zion, at whose gates, legend tells us, he was slain.

The masses of Jews throughout the Middle Ages were always ready to exchange their state of dispersion for a permanent national home in Palestine. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, for example, large settlements of Jews flourished in the principal cities of the Holy Land. These settlements included men of international Jewish renown, men such as Nahmanides and Joseph Kara.

### MESSIANIC PREDICTIONS AND FALSE MESSIAHS

Possibilities of freedom by political rebellion or by rational measures were excluded. Almost inevitably the Jews fell back for solace upon mystic fancies. They lived in a world of imagination where the pressure of their outlawed state did not reach to the depths of their consciousness. The study of *Kabbala* absorbed Jewish energies for a large part of the Middle Ages. The *Kabbala* concerned itself with investigations of the nature of God, prescribed the degrees (*Sefirot*) through which the human spirit must pass on its path to perfection, and speculated much on the date of the coming of the Messiah, by means of the numeric value of the letters of various biblical texts. When a date so fixed passed without fulfillment, it was simple, by another set of ingenious calculations, to advance another date. Things came to such a pass

that a rabbinic prohibition was passed against such computations, but it did not prove much of a deterrent. The fancies and legends that then clustered about the Messiah and the Messianic era were as pathetically naïve as the popular acceptance of self-appointed, often self-deluded saviors, the famous pseudo-Messiahs who appeared on the scene from Moses of Crete in the fifth century to Sabbatai Zebi in the seventeenth. It would take us too far afield to discuss all these men, their personalities, their motives and their influence on the fate of large communities of Jews. Among those who stand out in undesirable pre-eminence is Moses of Crete, whose Messiahship resulted in the drowning of a large number of people whom he promised to lead dryshod across the seas to Palestine.

There was David Alroy of Bagdad who proclaimed himself Messiah in the twelfth century and organized an armed rebellion. Only a few facts are known about him, and these clouded in legend. However, it seems certain that he paid his life for his rashness. He will be recalled as the hero of one of Disraeli's novels.

David Reubeni was a mysterious figure who emerged from Western Asia about 1520. He represented himself as the brother of a Jewish king in Arabia, who was ready to drive the Turks out of Palestine if the Christian governments would furnish him with firearms. He managed to be received by the Pope and to have himself invited to the court of the Portuguese king. Though he was very noncommittal with the Jews of Spain and Portugal, he was widely acclaimed as the Messiah or the forerunner of the Messiah. Reubeni's mission so worked upon the imagination of a young neo-Christian, Diego Pires, who held a high office in the state, that he voluntarily became a Jew and assumed the name of Solomon Molko, delved deeply into the *Kabbala,* and preached the approach of the Messianic era, the return to Palestine, and his own Messiahship. He attached himself to Reubeni. Finally, they both lost their lives through their diplomatic activities.

A most unfortunate and unprecedented effect was left upon Jewish history by another disciple of the *Kabbala,* Sabbatai Zebi, of Smyrna, who not only proclaimed himself Messiah, but claimed to be God incarnate. The whole Jewish world was in a ferment, from Western Europe to Asia Minor. The soberest of men went wild with frenzy, and wound up their business affairs in expectation of the return to Palestine and the end of the world. Even

Christian circles were affected. Though the impostor turned Mohammedan to save his life, all sorts of delusions were cherished about him. The pseudo-Messianism of Sabbatai Zebi did immeasurable harm, and a train of self-appointed successors sprouted up in Turkey, Egypt, Poland and Germany.

The lamentable careers of the pseudo-Messiahs by this time conclusively demonstrated that while the *Kabbala* contained many pure and noble elements and stimulated a certain saintliness, it was dangerously susceptible to misuse. The rabbis therefore discouraged its general study, and this time effectively. New historic forces, too, began to leaven Europe in the eighteenth century, so that the new intellectual tendencies would in any event have relegated mysticism to obscure byways.

### ZIONISM EXPRESSES MODERN NEEDS

With the emancipation of the Jews, modern Zionism became inevitable. For one thing, the legalism and the national safeguards of Ghetto segregation were, so to speak, cannonaded by the new forces and their weakened state exposed Jewish nationalism to greater danger than at any other time during the dispersion. For another, the freedom, power, and material resources of the Jews once again opened up the possibility of a rational restoration to their land by political means.

# FORERUNNERS OF ZIONISM

BY LOTTA LEVENSOHN

Two ideas are implied in the term "Forerunners of Zionism." First, that Zionism in the political sense is meant; Zionism, the movement founded by Theodor Herzl of Vienna in 1897. That this modern Zionist movement is no abrupt innovation, but is part and parcel of an ancient and dominant Jewish motive, is the second implication.

It is therefore important to describe the men and the activities that preceded Herzl and political Zionism during the latter half of the nineteenth century. The names of Moses Hess, Hirsch Kalischer, Perez Smolenskin, Leo Pinsker, and Ahad-Haam loom large in the annals of Jewish nationalism of modern times. Each of these men was a distinct type, varying widely, and yet they were identical in their conclusion that for the Jew all roads lead to Zion.

These protagonists of Jewish nationalism had contemporary incentives not only in Jewish misery, but also in the widespread nationalist strivings of their times. When Greece and Italy, to mention notable examples, secured their national independence, the sympathies of all cultured Europe were with them. Byron and the Brownings at once come to mind when the Greek and Italian struggles for independence are recalled. Rightful, but frustrated, national aspirations kept Europe in turmoil throughout the nineteenth century.

In German Jewry, the denationalizing motive of the Reform movement was very strongly opposed by the Orthodox party. But even though Orthodoxy wholeheartedly held to the principle of Jewish nationality (which had never before been questioned), it stood, after all, for a *status quo* policy. It prayed for and devoutly believed in the restoration, but by way of a Heaven-sent Messiah who would appear miraculously. Practical measures were thought to be an impious forcing of the hand of Providence.

MOSES HESS

Nevertheless in the 60's of the nineteenth century there were some men strongly opposed to the Reformers, and yet willing to do practical work to redeem their people. Foremost among the "Forerunners of Zionism" in Germany stand Moses Hess (1812-1875) and Rabbi Hirsch Kalischer (1795-1874). Their intellectual outlook and their method of approaching the problem of the Eternal Jew were poles apart, but their conclusions were the same. Early in his career, Hess was a Communist. He was a contemporary of Karl Marx, the converted Jew, and became a tower of strength to Socialism. But, unlike Marx, Hess realized that the cosmopolitanism of his day, which ignored the historic evolution of races and nationalities, could not have the last word. Hess, a humanitarian of the warmest and widest sympathies, outlined, half a century ago, in *Rom und Jerusalem,* ideas which became common property after the World War: The self-determination of the small peoples without hindrance by the great powers (master-nations, he called them); the indisputable and equal rights of small nations; the fact that every cultural-historical group has something of its own to contribute to civilization, and that relations between nation and nation ought to be based not on armaments but on justice. Only through a family of nations, based on social and economic justice within the respective states, could the Millennium come.

It logically followed, from Hess's premises, that the Jewish people must again be constituted to take its place among the nations, not only because of the justice of its claim to freedom, but also because its genius was represented in one of the two great cultures that had influenced civilization for 2,000 years—Hebraism and Hellenism. The Jewish people still had much to contribute, but could do so only on the basis of a normal national life; that is, political independence in a land of its own. This was so important, he said, that if emancipation, necessary as it was, could be had only on the surrender of Jewish nationalism, he would forego emancipation. He was a political Zionist, too, because he strongly urged that colonization in Palestine be placed under some form of international guarantee, preferably with a French protectorate.

### RABBI HIRSCH KALISCHER

Rabbi Hirsch Kalischer, of Thorn, Prussia, a learned Talmudist, fostered through word and deed, agricultural settlement in Palestine by East European Jews. His premise was religious, as Hess's was economic and nationalistic. In his *D'rishat Zion,* published in the same year as *Rom und Jerusalem* (1862), he laid down the principle that the ancestral land must be reclaimed by natural, practical measures. The Messiah would surely appear, but after and not before the Jewish people had done all that was humanly possible. Kalischer's agitation inspired the founding of the *Mikwe Israel* Agricultural School near Jaffa by Charles Netter of the *Alliance Israelite Universelle* in 1871, and also gave rise to two or three unsuccessful attempts at founding Jewish settlements. Nevertheless, he achieved something of two-fold value. He gained sympathy for Palestinian colonization in rigidly Orthodox circles, and he inspired the first organized attempt in 2,000 years to reclaim Palestinian soil by Jewish labor.

### PEREZ SMOLENSKIN, MASKIL

In Russia, the occasional gleams of freedom in the nineteenth century gave way in the early 80's to pogroms and further restrictions of the Pale of Settlement. It was therefore natural that the Jews should seek comfort in the warmth of their own fold. However, it is not just to ascribe the rising wave of Jewish nationalist sentiment in Russia at that time merely to the reflex action of anti-Semitism. We must remember the intense Jewish self-consciousness of the masses fostered by centuries of seclusion in Ghettos, their absorption in the study of the *Torah,* their persistent, unalterable belief that in God's good time, when Israel should have atoned for its early sins, they would be restored to *Eretz Israel.* The Messianic idea had only gathered strength with the passing ages, and in a time of technical and political progress, the old hope clothed itself in new garments.

As the culture of the nineteenth century penetrated to the dark Russian Ghettos, it was avidly welcomed by the younger generation through the medium of biblical Hebrew. Hebrew became the medium for poetry, literature, philosophy, science, for everything. The movement for enlightenment, the *Haskalah,* was fos-

tered with characteristic Jewish zeal and energy. However, for nearly a generation the tendency was to set up new idols in place of the old Jewish God. The older generation, most of whom had bitterly opposed admitting the knowledge of the Gentiles, now pointed out that the results more than justified their attitude. It has been well said that "*Haskalah* was a right step, but in the wrong direction." The introduction to general culture became a signal to cast off Judaism and Jewish ties. In the end, the poison produced its own antidote. The fullest Russification did not serve, it appeared, to avert pogroms, or the May Laws which congested the Pale to the stifling point. It remained for one of the most gifted of the *Maskilim* to point out that the true path of *Haskalah* lay through Jewish nationalism. Perez Smolenskin (1842-1885), writer and poet, was an inspiring exponent of the nationalism of the Prophets. The *Am Olam,* the Eternal People, he said, has an eternal spiritual-cultural task. In Palestinian colonization he saw the first stepping-stone toward his aim. The Hebrew language he loved for its own sake and as the vehicle of the Prophetic message. He founded a little monthly journal, *Hashahar* (The Dawn), and kept it going at the most painful sacrifices. A group of young *Maskilim* gathered about Smolenskin, and the *Hashahar* served both as a medium for nationalist propaganda and for the evolution of modern literary Hebrew. He strove for a synthesis of modern culture with the Hebraic spirit and saw in that synthesis, that assimilation to itself of western progress and civilization, the only possibility of a full development for Jewish national life. It was to be a reversed assimilation, not the Jew merged into the world, but adding the world to his own spiritual possessions.

### LEO PINSKER

More closely akin to Herzl than any other of his forerunners was Leo Pinsker (1821-1891), a Russian physician and *Maskil,* who resembled Herzl both in his method of approach to the Jewish problem and in his proposal to deal with it by political measures. Though Pinsker had never been remote from the Jewish people, it was the pogroms and the May Laws which stung him to take thought for the position of the Jews, just as the Dreyfus case was later to bring Herzl to self-realization. In his brochure *Auto-Emancipation,* written in 1882, and since become one of the

classics of Zionism, Pinsker analyzes the Jewish situation. Both his logic and his sense of dignity bring him to the conclusion that there is no remedy but by way of self-help, and that self-help must be achieved through political means. The Jewish people is an anomaly among the nations, he contends. It is neither alive, as a properly constituted nation ought to be, with a common land, language and institutions, nor is it dead, as might reasonably be expected of a people so long deprived of the attributes of nationhood. Instead, the Jews are the living-dead, a ghost-nation that inspires fear, and therefore hatred, in the living nations. They lack group-consciousness, national dignity, national self-respect; consequently, they can inspire no respect in others. They are everywhere aliens, and do not receive the toleration accorded to other foreigners who can reciprocate both good and ill in their own homelands. The cry of economic exploitation is raised against the Jews, despite their dire mass-poverty. Nor is there a Jewish nation with which the other nations can treat; they know only Jews, to be used as interest or prejudice may dictate. There can be but two alternative courses of action open to the Jews: assimilation, national suicide consciously planned, or, reconstitution as a nation among the nations. The present state is intolerable. Assimilation is the way of death. Even if self-destruction were not abhorrent, the other nations could not and would not absorb so many millions of a strongly characteristic race. "We are no more justified," he says, "in leaving our national fortunes in the hands of other peoples, than we are in making them responsible for our national misfortunes." He refers to the rise of small nationalities in Europe in the early nineteenth century. "Would not similar action on the part of the Jews be justified?" Political action is the only adequate method of self-help. First and foremost comes the question of a homeland. When writing *Auto-Emancipation,* he held no brief for Palestine. The God-idea and the Bible would make holy any land whither the Jewish people took them. He was to learn, as Herzl learned, how inbred is the attachment of the Jewish masses to Palestine. The land was to be honorably acquired by purchase, the great powers concurring. The means he proposed were actualized (though he did not live to see it) in the Zionist Congress, the Jewish Colonial Trust, the National Fund, the Palestine Bureau and the *Ahoozahs.*

### THE HOVEVE ZION MOVEMENT

From the 1860's on, Palestine colonization societies had begun to spring up. By 1882 there were a number of societies in different parts of Europe known as *Hoveve Zion* (Lovers of Zion) which constituted, in an informal way, the *Hibbat Zion* movement. Societies were formed also in America. In his *Auto-Emancipation,* Pinsker appealed for a general Jewish assembly to consider the idea of Jewish self-liberation. As a result, representatives of *Hoveve Zion societies* in various countries gathered at Kattowitz (Silesia) in November, 1884, and formed a federation. It was not until 1890, however, that the federation, which had its headquarters in Odessa, was able to obtain official sanction from the Russian government. It became popularly known as the "Odessa Committee" and did much toward establishing settlers on the land and furthering Jewish education in Palestine. Pinsker became president of the new federation. True, it fell far short of his advanced political thinking, since it could manage colonizing activities only on a very small scale, and of diplomatic negotiation there was no thought. Pinsker did not even live to see the rise of the great political movement that he would so warmly have welcomed.

### THE KADIMAH

Pinsker's *Auto-Emancipation* became a "Bible" for all the nationally-minded Jewish university students of the time. At the University of Vienna, which seethed with anti-Semitism, the Russian and Roumanian Jewish students were organized by Smolenskin, Birnbaum, and others leading nationalists, into a society which was destined for an important part in the genesis of the Zionist movement. They called it *Kadimah,* the Hebrew for both "Eastward" and "Forward." The *Kadimah* gave the impetus to the formation of Jewish students' societies all over Central and Eastern Europe. These societies did much at the universities to invest the Jewish name with a dignity before unthought of. When Herzl published his *Judenstaat,* the *Kadimah* petitioned him to take the lead in executing his own ideas. They were his devoted lieutenants in the enormous preparations for the first Zionist Congress at Basle, and at the Congress itself joyously served as pages and

ushers. The *Kadimah* was long a training ground for Zionist workers and leaders.

### LILIENBLUM AND MOHILEWER

Among those who did yeoman's work for Palestinian colonization were Moshe Loeb Lilienblum (1843-1911) and Rabbi Samuel Mohilewer (1824-1898). Lilienblum was of the type of the earlier *Maskilim,* who had believed that the Russification of the Jews would solve all their problems until the pogroms brought a rude awakening. Lilienblum was converted to Jewish nationalism by Pinsker. He became secretary of the *Hoveve Zion* federation and did much to further Palestinian colonization through his literary propaganda.

Rabbi Samuel Mohilewer advocated European culture for the Russian Jews. With his balanced outlook, however, he could not imagine that university education alone would save the sorely oppressed people. He enlisted the invaluable aid of Baron Edmond de Rothschild for Palestinian colonization and tried, though unsuccessfully, to induce Baron de Hirsch also to concentrate his efforts on Palestine. Rabbi Mohilewer himself was one of the leading spirits in the founding of the Jewish village of Rehoboth by a group of well-to-do Russian Jews. When the political Zionist movement arose, he supported it with devotion, even leaving a Zionist testament to the Jewish people, written on the day before his death.

# THEODOR HERZL

BY ISRAEL GOLDBERG

## BOYHOOD AND YOUTH

Theodor Herzl was born May 21, 1860, in Budapest, the capital of Hungary. His parents were in a comfortable financial position. Although he received a very meager Jewish education, his Jewish pride asserted itself in his earliest years.

When he was eighteen years old, his family removed to Vienna. Here he took up the study of law. In the university he belonged to a student fraternity which decided one day to admit no more Jews to membership, while "graciously" allowing those Jews already members to stay. Herzl immediately sent in his resignation to those "elegant young men."

After securing his juridical degree in 1884, he retired to the Tyrolean city of Salzburg, there to practise his profession. But he gave himself up almost entirely to literature. His enormous capacity for work revealed itself at this time and resulted in the production of a large number of plays, essays, sketches, critical studies, etc. Many of his plays were successfully produced. He became famous as a journalist and writer of *feuilletons,* or short sketches. His interests were far removed from things Jewish. His literary successes and his travels made him lose touch with problems of Jewish life.

## "A JEWISH STATE"

In 1891 he went to Paris as correspondent of the Vienna newspaper, *Die Neue Freie Presse,* an event which brought a new turn to his thought and action. He learned the intricacies of French politics, he learned the ways of courts and *salons*—an unconscious preparation for a national task. In Paris the Dreyfus affair was at that time absorbing attention, and there he witnessed such a violent and unreasoning exhibition of hatred and spite against the Jews that he was forced to look into his soul and define his attitude to

his own people. He saw the vast majority of the French nation eager "to convict one Jew, and, in him, all Jews." He underwent a painful and tremendous inner struggle, from which he emerged with a clear conception of the Jewish problem and with a simple but fundamental plan for its solution. Herzl came back to his own people, not only to suffer with them, but to lead them to a new and dignified life.

He embodied his ideas in a pamphlet which he called *The Jewish State.* During the last two months of his stay in Paris he worked on this pamphlet every day until he was exhausted. While writing, as he tells us in his little *Autobiography,* he seemed to hear the rushing of eagles above his head.

In this pamphlet, Herzl emphasized the following two propositions:

First: The Jews are a distinct nation, whose problem can be solved only by restoring them to a normal national life in a land of their own. He mentions Palestine and the Argentine as possible Jewish lands.

Second: The Jewish problem can be solved only through the self-activity of the Jewish people, that is to say, the Jewish problem can be solved only by the Jews themselves.

With the precision of an architect and the inspired vision of a prophet, Herzl proceeds to outline in detail the process of creation of the Jewish State. The "Society of Jews" is to be the recognized political agency for the Jewish people, the "Jewish Company," its financial and executive arm. The territorial rights are to be secured by a charter with the sanction and good-will of all the European governments. Colonization is to proceed by organized groups. The seven-hour working day is to be instituted. The Jewish masses, and even some from the upper classes, will flock to the new land to gain economic and spiritual freedom. "A generation of wonderful Jews will spring from the earth. The Maccabees will rise again." Let the opening words once more be repeated: "The Jews who will it, shall have a State of their own."

### HERZL HAILED AS LEADER

It was neither the intention nor the desire of Herzl to take the lead in a movement for the creation of a Jewish State. Even before publishing his pamphlet, he had conferred and corresponded with

the great Jewish philanthropist, Baron Maurice de Hirsch, who, he hoped, would start the movement. But the lack of imagination which has characterized so much of Jewish philanthropy made even the great Hirsch unresponsive to Herzl's plea.

In fact, of the notable Jewish personalities of that day, only one, the famous writer, Max Nordau, came at once to his support. The others remained either hostile or indifferent.

But as for the great masses of the Jewish people, Herzl in his *Judenstaat* had spoken the word for which they were waiting. The first public expression of adherence came from Jewish students in Austria and Germany, from whom he received an address covered with thousands of signatures. From Russia, Galicia, Roumania, Bulgaria, and Hungary he received enthusiastic expressions of adherence and pleas for action. Herzl was thus forced by circumstances to take the lead. At the same time, he reached the conclusion that the only land which could fire the imagination and energize the will of the Jewish people was Palestine. From this belief he never swerved. When Herzl wrote the *Judenstaat,* he did not even know that he lived in the same world with others who had seen the same vision. He had never heard of Hess, Kalischer, Pinsker. He did not know of the *Hoveve Zion;* and yet it was he who now gathered under his leadership the various struggling groups of unorganized Zionist enthusiasts. Inspired with his great mission, Herzl now began his career of activity. In order to acquaint himself with the political and diplomatic ground, he made a special journey to Constantinople, April, 1896. He returned buoyantly optimistic, and on his way through Sofia received a stirring ovation from the Bulgarian Jews. In England, although he found opposition or indifference among the rich and distinguished Jews, he was hailed as leader by the Zionists of the East End of London.

### THE FIRST ZIONIST CONGRESS

He came to the conclusion that it was most important to win the Jewish masses, and in order to give them the opportunity to declare themselves, as well as to provide a general forum for the discussion of the Jewish problem, he conceived the idea of convening a Jewish Congress. In the name of a commission organized for the purpose, he issued a call for such a Congress, which was to

convene in Munich in August, 1897. "The direction of Jewish affairs," said he in this call, "must not be left to the will of individuals, no matter how well-intentioned they may be. A forum must be created, before which each one may be made to account for what he does or fails to do in Jewry."

A storm of opposition arose from most of the prominent Jews of Western Europe, who were unaccustomed to an open discussion of Jewish affairs before a democratic Jewish body. The representatives of the Munich Jewish community objected to the holding of the Congress in their city. As a result, the Swiss city of Basle was chosen. Finally, a number of German Rabbis, fearful lest their German patriotism be questioned, issued a formal protest against the holding of the Congress. They have been since known as the *Protestrabbiner.* But the enthusiasm and support which Herzl found among the Jews of Eastern Europe more than made up for the opposition of the "emancipated."

In the meantime, in order to have a weapon of defence against his numerous opponents and a means of advancing the Jewish cause, Herzl had with his own funds founded the weekly newspaper, *Die Welt.*

The first representative Jewish assembly since the dispersion, the First Zionist Congress, brought together 197 delegates from almost every land of the earth. The movement for the redemption of the Jews through the national organization and self-activity of the Jewish people was inaugurated, and its program defined to be the creation of "a publicly recognized, legally secured home for the Jewish people in Palestine." Over the entire event hovered the magnetic personality and creative spirit of Theodor Herzl.

Through the First Congress, Herzl came to know the Russian Jews. He found among them his staunchest friends and his most vigorous opponents. From the beginning there was opposition on the part of some of the *Hoveve Zion* to Herzl's political program.

### STATESMAN AND DIPLOMAT

As leader of an organized movement, Herzl now took up with feverish energy the numerous tasks which crowded in upon him, chief of which, at this moment, was the creation of the financial instrument of the movement, the Jewish Colonial Bank. Here again

it was the masses of the Jewish people who subscribed the greater portion of the Bank's capital.

The second Congress, held in 1898, was another triumph for the ideas and personality of Herzl. The enthusiasm with which he was greeted was indescribable. The principles he advocated for the control of Palestinian colonization were largely accepted. Herzl always discouraged haphazard colonization and insisted on protection by political guarantees. This is what was meant by political Zionism. He opposed infiltration, seeking instead an organized mass migration, an entrance, as he put it, through the front door, not the back door. A commission was elected to institute the Colonial Bank. During the year the movement had grown enormously.

To secure the consent of the governments, Herzl sought to win the good-will of the European monarchs. He was received in audience by some of the most powerful rulers or their chief ministers. Upon all of them his wonderful personality made a profound impression. He appeared before them not as a suppliant for favors, but as the emissary of a people, the guardian of their political interests and their dignity, in presence and bearing a king among kings.

In the fall of 1898, Herzl, at the head of a Jewish deputation, was received by the German Emperor, William II, in the city of Jerusalem. In May, 1901, he had his first audience with the Sultan of Turkey. In the summer of 1903, upon the invitation of the Russian minister, Von Plehve, he visited the Russian capital and had interviews with the principal Russian ministers. Later, he was also received by the King of Italy, Victor Emmanuel II, and by the Pope. For the first time the problem of the JJwish people, through Herzl, was being treated as a political question.

In the meantime, as the movement continued to grow, its needs and problems multiplied. The Colonial Bank, after numerous difficulties had been overcome, was at length founded. At the Third Congress, Herzl reported: "It was a good year; we have moved a step forward." But the strain and struggle were intense and the heart of the great champion was beginning to be affected.

It seemed doubtful if Herzl would find the strength to attend the Fourth Zionist Congress in London. But the mighty will compelled the weak heart. He left his sick bed and in the midst of a group of the foremost men in Jewry, Nordau, Mandelstamm, Gaster, Zangwill, his majestic personality stood forth and thrilled

the vast throng that gathered in the great assembly hall. The English press and English statesmen hailed the movement and promised their support. Had the rich and powerful among the Jews come to support him at this time, his audiences with the Turkish ruler, upon whom he produced so deep and favorable an impression, would have resulted in the obtaining of that charter for the Jewish occupation of Palestine which Herzl sought. But the rich, indifferent Jews held aloof, and Herzl, although he suffered keen disappointment, resolved to put his trust in the poor. At the Fifth Congress, held at Basle, 1901, the Jewish National Fund was created, the fund through which the vast masses of the people, by uniting their strength, might gather the means which the short-sighted and timid rich withheld.

In the midst of these labors, Herzl found time to write his novel of Zionist vision, *Altneuland.*

On July 16, 1902, Herzl testified as an expert on Jewish affairs before the Alien Commission which was investigating immigration into England. His personality and his testimony produced a profound effect and from that moment the British Government began to interest itself in his plans, with far-reaching consequences.

### TRIP TO RUSSIA

Early in August, by invitation of the Russian minister, Von Plehve, he journeyed to Petrograd in order to try to convince the Russian Government that Zionism did not conflict with Russian interests. He succeeded in obtaining from the Russian ministers important promises in the interests of Zionism. The most formidable obstacles seemed to melt away from his triumphal path. At that time the Government approved of Zionism because it supposed it would take the Jews out of Russia. But when the Zionist movement showed its democratic and regenerative character, it was bitterly opposed and persecuted by the Imperial Russian Government. During Herzl's stay in Russia he was the witness of the misery and oppression of the Jewish population.

On his return, the streets of Vilna were dense with the throngs who came out to greet him. In the crowded synagogue, when the old Rabbi in his tremulous voice gave him the blessing, the people burst into loud weeping. It was the prayer of gratitude and love addressed by a helpless people to its champion. In Vilna, too, Herzl

saw the Cossacks use their whips upon the crowds who gathered at the station to hail him. His great heart was wrung with pity. But the speedy redemption of his people seemed to be in sight.

In order, however, to obtain from the Sultan the charter for the colonization of Palestine, very large sums were required, sums much larger than could be obtained soon enough from the impoverished masses of the Jewish people. The Kishineff massacre had occurred, and, while it horrified the civilized world, the threat and danger of further massacres, like a dreadful shadow, hovered over the life of the Jews of Russia. Immediate relief was imperative.

### UGANDA: A SHELTER FOR THE NIGHT

And now, as if in answer to this need, came the British Government and offered territory in one of its East African colonies, known as Uganda, for colonization by the Jews. Even before this, El Arish, south of Palestine, had been offered by Great Britain, but for important reasons could not be accepted. Herzl laid the Uganda offer before the Sixth Zionist Congress held in Basle on August 23, 1903. But even in his opening speech Herzl declared the ultimate aim of the Jewish people to be no land other than Palestine. And his closing speech he ended with the words: "If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget its cunning." Uganda he looked upon merely as a "shelter for the night," and as a political weapon in the struggle for Zion.

Nevertheless, there were many men who declared that by his willingness to accept Uganda, Herzl had surrendered Palestine. No amount of assurance could convince them or pacify them. They attacked Herzl. Feeling ran high. A number of the foremost Russian Jews met in the famous Conference at Charkow and chose a deputation to lay certain ultimatums before Herzl. The Charkow deputation came, but, having come as accusers, they went away as the accused. With infinite patience, Herzl answered his opponents and reiterated his assurance. At the sessions of the Greater Actions Committee of April 11-15, 1904, peace was finally re-established and a vote of confidence was given to the leader.

### THE LAST STRUGGLE

Throughout this conflict Herzl suffered acutely. The heart attacks increased, but in spite of the entreaties of his friends, he

refused to spare himself. In the little mountain town of Edlach, whither he had gone for rest and cure, Herzl, early in July, 1904, was at last forced to bed. He knew that the end was near. "Greet Palestine for me," are his words to a friend, "I have given my life blood to my people!" In spite of great suffering, he remained uncomplaining, cheerful, and self-possessed. Finally, on the afternoon of July 3rd, 1904, after having kept Death at bay by sheer power of will until he could again see his mother and children, Herzl, aged only forty-four years, breathed his last. The Jewish people lost the strongest, the most glorious personality it has produced in modern times.

# ZIONISM IN AMERICA BEFORE THE BRITISH MANDATE

BY JESSIE SAMPTER

## THE FIRST AMERICAN ZIONISTS

Russian persecution of the Jews which stimulated the first few societies for the colonization of Palestine, sent a huge wave of Jewish immigration from Eastern Europe into the United States. This migration carried with it Zionist forces. But even before that the Zionist idea had appeared spontaneously in America. Mordecai Manuel Noah (1785-1851), member of a prominent old American family of Portuguese Jews, diplomat, journalist, and publicist, was the first American Zionist. In 1824 he said: "We will return to Zion as we went forth, bringing back the faith we carried away with us." As a first step toward Jewish concentration in an agricultural settlement and under autonomous government, he purchased Grand Island near Buffalo, New York, where he hoped to create a small Jewish Commonwealth with himself as first Judge. This romantic scheme, inaugurated with ceremony and pomp, was a complete failure. Warder Cresson, a Christian contemporary of Noah (1798-1860), became deeply interested in Judaism and the Zionist ideal, and had himself sent to Jerusalem as the first American consul. There he turned Jewish, adopting the name of Michael Boaz Israel. He advocated agricultural settlement of Jews in Palestine as a first step toward renationalization. His practical attempt to start a Jewish village settlement did not succeed.

The first wave of Russian Jewish immigration, the tragic aftermath of pogroms, deeply stirred another Portuguese Jew, the poet Emma Lazarus of New York (1849-1887); and despite her surroundings and associations of ease and culture, far removed from all Jewish associations, she identified herself with the tragedy and the hope of her people. Her later poems are a rallying-cry for the dispersed of Israel, full of vision of Israel restored to his land. She did not live to see the Zionist movement develop in America. But her older sister, Josephine, became a staunch supporter of the Zionist cause, in whose service she spoke and wrote.

### HOVEVE ZION IN AMERICA

*Hoveve Zion* societies were organized in America, notably in New York and Baltimore, almost as early as in Russia. Towards 1890, a Jewish colonization society, *Shove Zion,* was organized in the United States, with headquarters in New York and members throughout the country. Considerable money was collected for land purchase and an emissary was sent to Palestine to procure land. Reaching there at the most critical period of Jewish colonization, he was unable to make a purchase. He came back with greatly reduced funds, which were returned to the contributors. This failure did not prevent the formation of a *Shove Zion,* No. 2, with even more disastrous results. The smaller sums collected were dissipated in the mere negotiations to buy land.

But despite these disconcerting failures, the spirit persisted. It manifested itself in Hebrew-speaking clubs and in countrywide groups of Zionists.

### EARLY ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN ZIONISM

Immediately after the first Zionist Congress, in 1897, the Zionists in America came in direct touch with Dr. Herzl, and organized the Federation of American Zionists. Dr. Gustav Gottheil and his son, Dr. Richard Gottheil, were the first to organize the work. An article by J. L. Greenberg, editor of *The Jewish Chronicle* of London, vividly described the Congress and stirred Dr. Richard Gottheil to call a conference in New York. He became the first president of the American Federation, with Dr. Stephen S. Wise as its first secretary. An effort was made to organize societies throughout the United States. Israel Wolf, as representative of a Yiddish newspaper in New York, traveled through the country, and this gave him the opportunity, between 1898 and 1900, to organize fifty-two Zionist societies, in Louisiana, Minnesota, North Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, and other Western and Southern states, as well as in Canada. But their organization was precariously weak. The *Shove Zion* failures made it difficult to raise money. The members paid yearly dues of only $1.00, which was not enough to enable the Organization in New York to keep in close touch with its constituents. Hence societies died almost as soon as organized and had to be reorganized each year. Gradually

the Organization was strengthened. Persistent and devoted service overcame all handicaps. When the Jewish Colonial Trust was organized, Dr. Gottheil could find no bankers to handle the shares, and for a while he had to go into the banking business. With two or three exceptions, the wealthy Jews would have nothing to do with the bank shares or with Zionism in any shape or form. But among the poor immigrants there was a mighty response. Letters came from all over the country from persons asking to invest in the bank shares, and though these cost only $5.00, they usually had to be paid for in installments. After a time, the East Side banker, S. Jarmulowsky, took over the management of the Zionist Bank's affairs for America.

### THE ZIONIST ORGANS

Cleveland had a Yiddish Zionist paper, *The Jewish Star,* as early as 1894. In 1900, *The Maccabaean Magazine,* the official organ of American Zionism, was founded, with Dr. Gottheil as its first editor. Later the editorship was taken over by Louis Lipsky. *Dos Yiddishe Folk,* the Yiddish organ of the movement in America, was founded by Senior Abel in 1909.

### TYPES OF MEMBERSHIP AND SOCIETIES

New York and Baltimore were the two strongholds of early American Zionism, not only in membership but in leadership. Dr. Harry Friedenwald, of Baltimore, was for many years President of the Federation; and Miss Henrietta Szold was one of the first in America to speak and work for Zionism, and did yeoman's service in New York where for a while she carried the secretaryship of the Organization. Herzl took a deep interest in American Zionism, and it was in 1902 that, due to his urging, Jacob deHaas was called from England to serve as secretary in New York. The offices were in the heart of the Jewish section because in New York, especially, Zionism was a folk movement which made its appeal to the East Side masses.

Even before the Federation was fully organized, there had already been organized by Leon Zolotkoff in Chicago the Order Knights of Zion, a Zionist organization which controlled all Zionist

activities throughout the Middle West, and which was supposed to have some of the features of a fraternal order.

The first Convention of the Federation of American Zionists was held in New York in 1898 and since then a Convention has been held annually. Two years later an arrangement was made whereby the Order Knights of Zion was affiliated with the F.A.Z., which recognized its prerogatives in the Middle West. The Order never became in fact a fraternal association, having no insurance or benefit features, but was devoted exclusively to Zionist work. It always kept a certain independence of the F.A.Z., although it virtually agreed to become subordinate to and be included in the Federation. At one time, it paid a *per capita* tax to the Federation and was given representation at the Federation Conventions. In later years their relation was much closer and, in 1917, the Order Knights of Zion changed its name to the Federated Zionist Societies of the Middle West. The whole basis of Zionist organization in America was that of societies—in contrast to the international form of organization, and that of several European Federations whose unit is the individual—and representation at the Conventions was through societies, which were allowed a certain number of delegates according to their size. The membership of these societies was determined by social grouping rather than neighborhood. Age, language, and education were the main factors. Definite cultural and idealistic tendencies manifested themselves through special societies; such as radicals in religion or politics, conservatives, Hebraists. The *Poale Zion* (Socialists) and the *Mizrahi* (Orthodox), who are internationally organized and recognized by the Congress, also organized in the United States. Considering themselves international parties with a specific extra-Zionist aim, both held aloof from the main body of American Zionists.

Of the societies within the F.A.Z., the following were nationally organized for special purposes:

### THE ORDER SONS OF ZION

This was formed by members of the F.A.Z. in 1907. The organizers were Joshua Sprayragen and Dr. H. J. Epstein. They wished to create a fraternal insurance association that would hold to the movement members who were being drawn away from Zionist activities. Self-interest, they felt, was an asset that could

be used; the benefits of fraternal insurance might bind many to Zionism through a stable organization that offered practical advantage, whereas these same people would not be held by abstract ideals alone. The insurance system was based on the soundest ideas in insurance. Order Sons of Zion was always an integral part of the F.A.Z., paying its *shekolim* and a modified tax direct to the Federation, and being represented by several delegates on the Federation Executive Committee. It has since developed the Judaea Insurance Company in Palestine.

### YOUNG JUDAEA

The educational or junior department of the Zionist Organization came into existence in 1909. Before that time there had been sporadic attempts in New York City and elsewhere to found organizations similar to Young Judaea. The Federation of American Zionists finally was successful in welding a number of juvenile Jewish clubs into one central junior organization. This was effected by David Schneeberg, who for years was the guiding spirit in Young Judaea. The medium through which Young Judaea works is the club or group of clubs of Jewish children, ranging in age from about ten to twenty years, under the supervision of a leader. The actual work of the individual club consists of the celebration of Jewish holidays by means of public gatherings and festive meetings, the study of Jewish history and of topics of general Jewish interest, discussions and debates on Zionism and on other related subjects, and the fostering of the Jewish spirit by insistence upon a positive and reverent attitude towards Judaism and an intelligent interest in all Jewish affairs. Young Judaea has grown from a merely local group to a national organization and by 1919 numbered about 800 clubs with a membership of 15,000. Among its other activities are the publication of a magazine, *The Young Judaean*, a bulletin for leaders, books of essays and poems, Hebrew songs, and other educational matter. At first, the tendency was to regard the organization as one that should be used for the accomplishment of actual Zionist work, but more and more the emphasis has been put on education, in the conviction that children's interest should not be used except as a means for their own development. When, in 1918, Young Judaea came under the Education Department of the Zionist Organization as its juvenile section, it was

already a powerful force in the Jewish communities of numerous cities, and a training ground for future Zionists.

### HADASSAH

The Women's Zionist Organization, *Hadassah,* was organized in 1912 by a group of women under the leadership of Henrietta Szold to meet the need for special propaganda among women. It was always an integral part of the Federation of American Zionists. Its special appeal to women lay in its program of Palestinian work. It established a system of district visiting nursing and midwifery in Jerusalem, as well as of trachoma treatments in the schools under the supervision of physicians of Jerusalem, and also general hygienic educational work which centered in its settlement house. Its ideal even then was a system of nursing and hospitals throughout Palestine. At the request of the Inner Actions Committee and the Provisional Executive Committee for General Zionist Affairs, *Hadassah* organized and sent a Zionist Medical Unit to Palestine after the British occupation. *Hadassah* was well organized and successful, gaining more than 5,500 members in the first six years, and doing active welfare work for Palestine and educational Zionist work among women.

### THE INTERCOLLEGIATE ZIONIST ASSOCIATION

The Intercollegiate Zionist Association—the academic branch of the Zionist Organization—was founded in 1915, and later came under the direction of the Department of Education. The work in the thirty-five undergraduate and three graduate chapters consisted of lectures, forums, intensive study groups, music and drama festivals, and a summer agricultural course. Among its literary activities were the publication of a yearbook *Kadimah,* a monthly Bulletin, and the conducting of the Brandeis prize essay contest. Its present successor is the *Avukah,* Student Zionist Federation.

### COLONIZATION SOCIETIES

Mention must here be made of Palestine colonization societies originated by American Zionists, but which, under the general principles of Zionist organization, could not be officially recognized

by the F.A.Z. because they were for the benefit of individuals and for the acquisition of individual property. Such was the *Ahoozah* plan, originated in 1909 by Simon Goldman of St. Louis. This plan was for the establishment of a Jewish settlement in Palestine by persons living in a given locality in this country, who would agree to pay a certain amount every year into a fund, and in the course of a definite number of years would, with the investment of the previously paid capital, be assured of a comfortable livelihood in Palestine. The colony of Poreah was established, where Mr. Goldman spent the rest of his life. The plan was imitated by Zionists in several European countries, and in Russia about 200 *Ahoozah* groups were formed. The Zion Commonwealth, which was organized by Bernard A. Rosenblatt, drawing its membership from all parts of the United States, and which had then a definite program of social justice, with common ownership of communal values, also grew out of the *Ahoozah* movement. In the village of Raananah the American *Ahoozah* idea has proved its possibilities of success.

### ZIONIST MEMBERSHIP BEFORE THE WAR

Before 1914, American Zionism was largely confined to the Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe, a folk movement. Its leaders were idealists with a devoted following, but unknown outside Jewish ranks. At that time a few prominent Jews, among them Louis D. Brandeis, had declared themselves Zionists, but had as yet taken little active part in the movement. There were then about 20,000 *shekel* payers in the United States.

### THE WAR AND ZIONIST POLITICAL ACTION

The four and one-half years of the World War caused no less complete a revolution in the affairs of Zionism than in those of the whole world. As with other peoples, there was the tremendous contrast between acute suffering and a seeming fulfillment more rapid and complete than could have been dreamed of a few years earlier. Zionism, which previously had been in the view of the anti-Zionists an obscure movement chiefly of the masses, now emerged to public view as a political factor embracing every section and

every class of Jewry and commanding the attention of statesmen in all lands.

The Inner Actions Committee, which met regularly in Berlin and transacted all international business between Congresses, was international in its composition. At the time war was declared its members were in various countries. Dr. Shmarya Levin, one of its members, had come to America to be present at the Zionist Convention and was forced to remain. His presence during the war was valuable both for American Zionism and the international cause. In the latter's service he returned to Europe soon after the cessation of hostilities. Otto Warburg and Arthur Hantke, two of the German members, were in Berlin and remained there throughout the war. Victor Jacobson, another member, was then in Constantinople. There he stayed, serving Zionist political ends, until the drama revealed the new setting in which the Allies took upon themselves the vindication of Jewish nationalism. When he saw that Constantinople could no longer be the centre of Zionist politics, he went to Copenhagen where in a neutral country he could be useful to the Zionist movement. There he established a Zionist Bureau. Yechiel Tschlenow, one of the Russian members, went back and forth between Russia and Denmark, and eventually to England. Immediately after the Russian Revolution of April, 1917, as leader of the Russian Zionists, he presided at their first open demonstration and made a stirring address which foreshadowed the events that soon came to pass. But unfortunately he died before that fulfillment. The third Russian member, Nahum Sokolow, moved about freely in the Allied countries and later became one of the chief instruments in bringing about the political successes of Zionism. So the members of the Inner Actions Committee were perforce scattered, and the Committee could not function.

### AMERICAN ZIONISTS ASSUME THE BURDEN

For the moment, the centre of gravity was shifted to America. American Zionists of prominence now were moved to step forward and put the best of their strength at the service of the cause. As early as August 30, 1914, a month after the outbreak of War, an extraordinary conference of American Zionists was called in New York City to deal with the new situation. The

Americans felt it necessary, for the time being, to take upon themselves many of the responsibilities of the Inner Actions Committee. Dr. Shmarya Levin, as representative of the Committee, could in a measure give its sanction to the action taken. A Provisional Executive Committee for General Zionist Affairs was elected to act in agreement with the members of the Actions Committee and to raise an Emergency Fund for the relief of Palestine. Louis D. Brandeis was unanimously elected chairman. To many of the representative Zionists present at this meeting, this was the first indication of his paramount leadership in America. His power over the body of Zionists was more than that simply of a man who already had a nation-wide reputation as an American statesman and who would therefore naturally hold the respect of his fellow Jews. In him they felt a leader. His personality in itself was commanding. He had come to Zionism after a life-time spent in a non-Jewish environment and in the service of the American Commonwealth. He came to Zionism because he saw in that movement the expression of the democratic spirit of his own people and he could not deny its claim. There is a certain quality in his appearance and manner which reminds one of the pictures and descriptions of Abraham Lincoln. There is the same combination of stern, almost tragic force, of geniality and pathos. His are the qualities of the liberator. The leadership of Mr. Brandeis drew to the movement many who had previously despised or ignored it. From that time forth, American Zionism grew by leaps and bounds.

Early in the War, questions of nationalism arose which threw quite a new light on Zionism. Jews who had lived self-centered and complacent lives were roused to wider issues and the disaster that overshadowed East European Jewry stirred and lashed Jewish consciousness to self-realization. The next four Conventions in Boston, Baltimore, Philadelphia, and Pittsburgh had more the character of Congresses, dealing with international as well as nation-wide interests. There was a constant interchange of ideas between the Zionists of Europe and those of America, so that action taken here assumed a world-wide significance. One after the other, leaders of American Jewish life, with their followers, came into the Zionist movement. Whole fraternal orders with thousands of members adopted resolutions endorsing the Basle Platform. Upon the

Provisional Committee for General Zionist Affairs fell the chief financial burden during the four years of war. And this burden was nobly borne, due partly to the commanding leadership of such men as Justice Louis D. Brandeis, Judge Julian W. Mack, and Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, partly to the devoted and huge labors of the old-time faithful Zionists on the Committee, such as Jacob deHaas, Louis Lipsky, and Henrietta Szold, and partly to the aroused race consciousness of the masses of the American Jews. The Palestinian budget was met at first by the Emergency Fund, inaugurated at the meeting on August 30, 1914, and later, after the British Declaration, by the Palestine Restoration Fund. Its first installment was $1,000,000, and its second installment $3,000,000. The American Zionist budget rose between 1914 and 1919 from $14,000 to $3,000,000. Throughout the War there was cooperation between the general Jewish relief agencies and the Zionist Funds. The Zionists in Europe also did their share and more than their share, but naturally their means were limited by the exigencies of war. The general agencies, grouped in the Joint Distribution Committee, met on the whole those requirements in Palestine which might be called purely relief, such as soup kitchens and doles, whereas the Zionists, so far as practical, confined themselves to constructive measures, such as loans to farmers and employers, truck-gardening (carried on by the Jewish National Fund), the maintenance of schools (including feeding of the pupils) and of other institutions. However, in certain instances, the Joint Distribution Committee cooperated with Zionist Organization, as in the case of the Medical Unit.

In America, events moved rapidly. Mr. Brandeis had been made a member of the United States Supreme Court. Justice Brandeis could not be as active in public work for the Zionist movement as Mr. Brandeis had been, but his influence and power increased. Although his official acts as a Zionist had to be reduced to a minimum, he held all the reins of the movement. He was in daily communication with the other leaders and nothing escaped his attention. This fact was well known even to the rank and file of Zionists and a spirit of discipline was developed. Mr. Brandeis appealed directly to the loyalty of the organized Zionists. He emphasized constantly the need of organization and discipline and by this means he built up a remarkable spirit of cooperation.

### THE TRANSFER DEPARTMENT

America entered the war. A number of Zionists, prominent in American national affairs, were put in positions of trust by the Government. It was known months before President Wilson's official letter that the American Government was in sympathy with Zionist aims. The Provisional Committee, besides its original purpose of acting in a neutral country in the interests of the dispersed Actions Committee, had gradually assumed other and indispensable functions. Perhaps most important was that of the Transfer Department, which undertook to forward money free of charge for individuals not only to Palestine, but to Poland, Rumania, Russia, and other occupied territories. A well devised system of office management was installed in the offices of the Zionist Organization in New York, and the Transfer Department, by its efficiency and reliability, won the confidence of all. This was true even of the governments in those countries with which it had dealings, as well as of the individuals who forwarded money through them. Not only Jews, but other peoples, especially the Arabs, Greeks, and other races of Palestine, were helped by this service and turned to the Zionist Organization in preference to less reliable agencies. The Transfer Department created confidence in itself by its dependable financial methods, and so established what was practically a Zionist credit throughout the world. This had no small share in bringing about that attitude on the part of the governments of the Allied countries which later caused them to recognize the Zionist Organization as the official representative of the Jewish people.

### THE ZIONIST MEDICAL UNIT

Early in the summer of 1918 there was dispatched from the United States a Zionist Medical Unit organized by *Hadassah*. This Unit arrived in Palestine when General Allenby finally conquered that country. The havoc wrought by Turkish measures during the last months of occupation made medical and other relief acutely necessary.

Dr. Harry Friedenwald, well known as a physician in Baltimore, former president of the Federation of American Zionists, and vice-president of the Zionist Organization of America, had

previously gone to Palestine to study health conditions. Early in 1919 he returned to Palestine in order to act as a member of the Zionist Administrative Commission, to study the situation in regard to medical needs, and to investigate and prepare the ground for a medical faculty in the Hebrew University at Jerusalem.

### THE REORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN ZIONISTS

With the cessation of war, all Zionist forces were immediately put in motion to prepare for the Peace Conference and to reap the fruit of four years of struggle. Throughout the war there had been preparation for peace. In America a Palestinian Survey had been created with a large library service, which had gathered and tabulated all the information which might be of service to the peace delegates. The structure of American Zionism had undergone a complete change during the previous year, largely with a view to the enormous tasks that would confront it. Throughout the years of its activity, the Provisional Executive Committee for General Zionist Affairs had gradually assumed perhaps more than its share of control of all phases of American Zionism. The Zionists of the Middle West, who had never whole-heartedly accepted the jurisdiction of the Executive Committee of the Federation of American Zionists, put themselves wholly at the disposal of the Provisional Committee. Zionism in the West and South had grown tremendously, and a number of states had been organized with separate bureaus under the control of the Provisional Committee. Gradually the Executive Committee of the Federation of American Zionists had become almost a subordinate body to the Provisional Executive Committee, upon which it had a number of members. The Federation of American Zionists was the first to recognize the anomaly of its position and the weakness of its form of organization, which could not long handle the problems that had arisen. A Federation of Societies was too immature and unpolitical a form for a movement which was coming to be the vital, progressive force in American Jewry. It was also out of harmony both with American and Zionist political ideals which made the individual, and not the group, the unit of organization. Hence, it was decided by agreement between the Federation of American Zionists and the Provisional Executive Committee to present to the Twenty-first Annual Convention of American Zionists at Pitts-

burgh, in 1918, a reorganization plan whereby the Provisional Executive Committee and the Federation of American Zionists were to be merged in the Zionist Organization of America, and the whole system of organization changed from a federation of societies to a federation of individuals, organized in local Districts and paying their *shekel* and membership dues through the District to the Zionist Organization of America. This radical change, of which the societies had of course been apprised in advance, was fully discussed and finally passed upon by the delegates. The international events that were occurring had their solemn effect upon the assembled Zionists. In a week the whole structure of American Zionism was changed by the adoption of a constitution which provided for the division of the country into Zionist districts, as governmental districts are divided, so that locality became the basis of organization. Although the constitution defined and safeguarded the existence of societies for cultural, social, or other purposes, politically the individual was the unit and the District was made responsible for the organization of these individuals, irrespective of interest, age or education. The Zionist Organization became responsible for all American Zionists, not only for those who had chosen to join some special Zionist society. A National Executive Committee of fifty and an Administrative Committee, consisting of the officers and of the secretaries for Organization and Education, were elected.* There was also adopted a statement of principles for the social reconstruction of Palestine.

### PRESIDENT WILSON APPROVES OF ZIONISM

On August 31, 1918, President Wilson wrote his memorable letter to Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, Vice-President of the Zionist Organization of America:

"My Dear Rabbi Wise:

"I have watched with deep and sincere interest the reconstructive work which the Weizmann Commission has done in Palestine at the instance of the British Government and I welcome an opportunity to express the satisfaction I have felt in the progress of the

* Honorary President, Justice Louis D. Brandeis; President, Judge Julian W. Mack; Vice Presidents, Dr. Stephen S. Wise and Dr. Harry Friedenwald; Secretary for Organization, Louis Lipsky; Secretary for Education, Miss Henrietta Szold; Executive Secretary, Jacob deHaas.

Zionist movement in the United States and in the Allied countries since the declaration by Mr. Balfour on behalf of the British Government of Great Britain's approval of the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and his promise that the British Government would use its best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of that object, with the understanding that nothing would be done to prejudice the civil and religious rights of non-Jewish peoples in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by the Jews in other countries.

"I think that all Americans will be deeply moved by the report that even in this time of stress the Weizmann Commission has been able to lay the foundation of the Hebrew University at Jerusalem with the promise that that bears of spiritual rebirth.

"Cordially and sincerely yours,
(Signed) WOODROW WILSON."

Secretary of the Navy Daniels, in his speech delivered a few weeks later, added that President Wilson had spoken for the American people. And a number of legislatures of States passed resolutions supporting the Zionist demands.

### THE AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS

Immediately after the signing of the armistice on November 11, 1918, the National Executive Committee of the Zionist Organization of America was called together to decide on the steps to be taken. Three subjects had to be discussed and acted upon. One was the international Jewish situation, due to the realignment of national forces in Eastern Europe and the persecutions of the Jews which resulted, and also to the national Jewish demands within various countries that were being formulated by Zionist leaders in Central Europe. The second was the sending of a Commission of American Zionists to Europe to cooperate with the international Zionists in any action that might be planned, and the third was the attitude to be taken by the Zionist Organization toward the convening of the American Jewish Congress, of which it was a constituent member. The second question resolved itself into the choosing of delegates to join the European Zionists. Those sent were Dr. Stephen S. Wise, Louis Robison, and Mrs. Joseph Fels, with Bernard Flexner as legal advisor. The first and

third questions were closely bound up together, as action in regard to the international Jewish situation ought to be taken by the whole of Jewry and not by the Zionists alone.

As early as the conference in New York of August 30, 1914, there had been broached the subject of an American Jewish Congress for the purpose of presenting to the world the claims of Jewry. It was also intended that this American Congress should cooperate with international Jewry. The Zionists, having more specifically undertaken to act for the Palestinian interest of Jewry, felt called upon to enlist the cooperation of all sections of the Jewish people. The Congress idea grew rapidly. Initiated by the Zionists, it appealed strongly also to other bodies. However, there developed at once an intensely bitter opposition on the part of some sections of American Jewry. The American Jewish Committee, composed of wealthy and influential Jews who had a mandate from a comparatively limited body, had assumed control of communal Jewish affairs in America in so far as such control existed. The struggle threatened to split American Jewry hopelessly. Another type of opposition developed among the Jewish labor organizations. The Zionists were resolved to organize American Jewry on democratic lines. More conferences followed and in order to bring the idea to what seemed its only possible fruition, the Zionists entered into an agreement with the other bodies to be represented, an agreement which at the time seemed to some to endanger certain principles of Zionism. However, certain resolutions were accepted which acted as safeguards.

At a meeting at the Hotel Savoy, New York, December 25, 1916, the machinery for the Congress was finally and fully set in motion. Soon after the acceptance of the agreement, elections were held throughout the country. For the first time American Jewry acted as an organized unit. The returns from these elections showed an overwhelming majority for the Zionists. This was a surprise to some who had not realized how deeply Zionism had permeated among the masses of the American Jews. The Congress itself, however, had to be postponed, owing to the entrance of America into the War. America having lost its position as a neutral country, the immediate purpose of the Congress could not be served. Too great agitation at that time would have been dangerous to Jews in some of the occupied countries.

With the cessation of war the Administrative Committee of

the American Jewish Congress immediately planned to resume its activity. In honor bound to stand by their agreement and the decisions of the Congress, the Zionists faced that obligation with some fears and anxieties. Later events proved these to be groundless. So precarious and so rapidly changing were international conditions that only on the evening before the convening of the Administrative Committee of the American Jewish Congress did the National Executive Committee of the Zionist Organization take action in regard to its own attitude toward the Congress.

On December 15th, 1919, the Congress was called for and convened in Philadelphia. About four hundred delegates came from all parts of the United States. A wonderful spirit animated the meeting. Despite the great diversity of the groups represented, including spokesmen of the American Jewish Committee and of the Workmen's Organizations, the chief resolutions were practically unanimously adopted. The resolution on Palestine was acclaimed by an ovation and it was some time before the delegates could be persuaded to calm down sufficiently to take a vote. When that vote was taken, a rising vote, only two delegates remained seated. There followed also a resolution on international rights. By these resolutions the weight of American Jewry has been put on the side of a League of Nations.

### RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE CONGRESS

The following is the resolution on Palestine adopted:

"Resolved, that the American Jewish Congress instruct their delegation to Europe to co-operate with other representatives of other Jewish organizations, and specifically with the World Zionist Organization, to the end that the Peace Conference may recognize the aspirations and historic claims of the Jewish people in regard to Palestine, and declare that in accordance with the British Government's declaration of November 2, 1917, endorsed by the Allied Governments and the President of the United States, there shall be established such political, administrative and economic conditions in Palestine as will assure under the trusteeship of Great Britain, acting on behalf of such a League of Nations as may be formed, the development of Palestine into a Jewish Commonwealth, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done

which shall prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country."

The chief task of the Congress was to elect a Committee which should proceed to Europe to carry out the mandates of the Congress and on its return to reconvene the Congress.

### GROWTH OF AMERICAN ZIONISM

American Zionism was meeting its responsibilities. From a mere handful of about 20,000 *shekel* payers before the war, they had increased to 150,000 in 1917, and in the new District Organizations over 171,000 were enrolled by April, 1920. An understanding of Palestine and Zionism was spreading throughout American Jewry.

# ZIONISM IN AMERICA DURING THE POST-WAR ERA

LEO W. SCHWARZ

Before 1914 Zionism had made surprisingly small headway in the United States. While the American Zionist Federation, established after the first Zionist Congress by a handful of ardent, gifted spirits, was still in its infancy, European Zionism, particularly during the years of Herzl's command, had an auspicious reception from Odessa to London. It established a far-flung organization, developed a literature and a philosophy and, at the time of the last pre-war Congress in Vienna in 1913, had already achieved results in Palestine. When, however, war broke out and the great centers of Zionist activity were embroiled, the movement was disorganized. Another severe blow followed with the death in September, 1914, of David Wolfsohn who had held the presidency of the Zionist Organization since 1905. The leadership was then vested in the Inner Actions Committee which speedily shifted its headquarters successively from Cologne to Berlin, Copenhagen, London. European Zionism was crowded out. There remained only one powerful neutral to which the leaders could turn for assistance, the United States.

Within the years 1914-1920, American Zionism matured. The horrors of war, the pressure of economic necessity, particularly in war-stricken Palestine, the prospects held forth by an international readjustment in the Near East, all converged to awaken a great response. The organization of the Provisional Committee for General Zionist Affairs in August, 1914, resulted in a series of remarkable achievements. After the coalition of seven different Zionist agencies was consummated, a mobilization of American Jewry was initiated. Results exceeded expectations. Instead of collecting $100,000 as had been originally contemplated, more than $1,500,000 were remitted to Palestine. Zionist activities developed; every community, every institution, every individual was canvassed. In 1918, under the auspices of Hadassah, an American Zionist Medical Unit was dispatched to Palestine. Mass sentiment grew astoundingly. Then came the departure of the Jewish Legion

to join the British Expeditionary Force. Two years later, at the reception given by the Jerusalem community to Justice Brandeis, David Yellin declared, "We had feared that this small Zionist movement would be swallowed up in the whirl of problems facing the world. Then suddenly there loomed a new light in the place where we least expected it."

But these material activities were only one phase of a deeper historic process which gradually transformed the character of American Jewry. Just as the United States, through neither the desire nor prevision of its leaders, rose to political, economic and moral dominance almost overnight, American Jewry now became aware of its powers and accepted the sudden alteration in the center of gravity of world Jewry. Perhaps an unmistakable symbol of what was happening during these years was the struggle for the organization of the American Jewish Congress. Although it was staunchly opposed by a small but powerful group of irreconcilables, the idea synchronized with the social and political idealism that pervaded the country. It was aided and strengthened by the Zionists who more and more interpreted Zionism in the spirit of President Wilson's lofty idealism. In London and Washington, Zionist leaders were busily engaged in preparing, in collaboration with British and American statesmen, an acceptable international policy for the rehabilitation of Palestine. These negotiations led to the promulgation of the Balfour Declaration on November 2, 1917. This declaration marked the pinnacle of political Zionism. It was received in America with delirious acclaim.

The transformation of American Zionism from a comparatively negligible group of petty societies in 1913 to a mass movement in 1920 would remain an historical enigma without consideration of the extraordinary leadership during those years. Louis D. Brandeis, who was appointed to the United States Supreme Court in 1916, was the dominant personality who, by his superb leadership and immeasurable devotion, gave Zionism high prestige and a new direction. In 1915, a year after he had accepted the chairmanship of the Provisional Committee, in a remarkable address entitled, *The Jewish Problem and How to Solve It,* he enunciated his interpretation of Zionism. It was a positive reassertion of the concept of Jewish nationality, directly combatting the doctrine of the incompatibility of Zionism and patriotism. "Jews are a distinct nationality of which every Jew, whatever his

country, his station, or shade of belief, is necessarily a member. Let us insist that the struggle for liberty shall not cease until equality of opportunity is accorded to nationalities as to individuals. Let us insist also that full equality of opportunity cannot be obtained by Jews until we, like members of other nationalities, shall have the option of living elsewhere or of returning to the land of our forefathers." With the ability to state his views with transparent simplicity was combined an immense skill in administration and action. He exercised unsparing control, a policy that later brought dissatisfaction, over the details of every enterprise and was uncompromising in the preciseness of his requirements for effective action. The great strength of this procedure was evidenced in the remarkable support which he received from the Zionists. No less remarkable were the group of collaborators with whom he was enabled to surround himself. Julian W. Mack, Professor Felix Frankfurter, Dr. Stephen S. Wise, Henrietta Szold, Bernard Flexner, Jacob de Haas, Dr. Harry Friedenwald, Nathan Straus, Mary Fels, Horace M. Kallen.

Two facts may illustrate the penetrating influence that Zionism began to exercise during these years. In the spring of 1918 the responses to a questionnaire on Zionism, sent to the reform wing of the rabbinate which hitherto had been extremely antagonistic, revealed a definite change in attitude; only eighteen out of seventy-eight remained avowed anti-Zionists. In the same year the Balfour Declaration received the endorsement of the American Jewish Committee.

A year had passed since the issuance of the Balfour Declaration. It was twelve months not only of watchful waiting but of deliberate preparation and planning. Closer contact was established with Palestine through the enlistment of the American branch of the Jewish Legion (about 1200 recruits), the establishment of the Zionist medical unit and the unofficial cooperation of American experts with the Zionist Commission that went to Palestine in 1918 under the leadership of Dr. Weizmann. It was an act of astute political sagacity for Brandeis to establish a committee to make "a careful study of the resources of Palestine, and a survey from historic sources of the boundaries of Palestine together with an estimate of the boundaries that in view of economic conditions would best serve the purpose of a large Jewish settlement."

Nor was public opinion neglected. An unprecedented educa-

tional campaign was designed and effectively executed. Fiery speakers, such as Ben Avi, Mary Antin, Rabbi Meyer Berlin, Mary Fels, Shmarya Levin and Dr. Stephen S. Wise carried the message of Zionism to almost every segment of American Jewry. The department of education of the Z.O.A. under the direction of Henrietta Szold and Emanuel Neumann, created a juvenile and adult Zionist literature, both in English and Hebrew, that brought the epic of Zionism within the ken of young and old. The work of this bureau laid the foundation for a national interpretation in Jewish education. The bulk of its creation (leaflets, translations, club programs, etc.) served creditably for almost a decade. Hebraists pointed with justified pride to the *Histadruth Ibrith* and its splendid organ, *Hatoren,* under the editorship of Reuben Brainin. The enthusiasm and loyalty evoked in colleges and universities is shown by the contemporary records and the Intercollegiate Zionist Association's annual publication, *Kadimah.* In England and America, important volumes appeared, among these being Sokolow's monumental *History of Zionism* and *Zionism and the Jewish Future,* edited by Harry Sacher; Israel Zangwill's *Principle of Nationalities* and *Eretz Israel* by Ben Gurion and Ben Zwi. A sprinkling of anti-Zionist writing, such as Rihani's *America Save the East,* Jastrow's *The Future of Palestine* and the criticisms of a few trenchant pamphleteers seemed momentarily to have been washed away by the rising tide of Zionist expression.

The twenty-first annual convention of the Z.O.A. gave evidence of the rich harvest of this year. In its emotional quality, political sagacity and social vision the Pittsburgh Convention in July, 1918, rivalled the first Zionist Congress in Basle. The cross-currents affecting that distinguished assemblage were revealed in the new influences that marked its widely hailed decisions.

The first step toward democratic procedure was the adoption of a new plan of national organization embracing the diverse social and economic groupings within American Jewry. The so-called District Plan was adopted as being sufficiently flexible to permit the inclusion of all members of a district, whatever their class, within a single organization directly responsible to the national administration.

The political faith and social vision of the conference was boldly crystallized in the Pittsburgh Program. The five sentences of this program founded Zionism upon new social principles. It

did more. It unfolded, as did Wilson's Fourteen Points, a basic creed for the reordering of a democratic Jewish internationality. The final formulation was made by Justice Brandeis in a social document of the utmost significance:

(1) We declare for political and civil equality irrespective of race, sex or faith of all the inhabitants of the land.
(2) To insure in the Jewish National Home in Palestine equality of opportunity we favor a policy which, within due regard to existing rights, shall tend to establish the ownership and control by the whole people of the land, of all natural resources and of all public utilities.
(3) All land owned or controlled by the whole people should be leased on such conditions as will insure the fullest opportunity for development and continuity of possession.
(4) The cooperative principle should be applied so far as feasible in the organization of all agricultural, industrial, commercial and financial undertakings.
(5) The system of free public instruction which is to be established should embrace all grades and departments of education.

During the remainder of 1918 two utterances stimulated Zionist response. The one, a direct statement from President Wilson, who was soon to be hailed as a new Moses by the masses of Europe, supplemented the Balfour Declaration.

Intimately related to Wilson's official expression, was the historic first assemblage of the American Jewish Congress in Philadelphia on December 15, 1918. Even though the initiative in convening the Congress had been taken by the Z.O.A., its representation was non-partisan, indicating the trend and aspiration of American Jewry. Overpowering forces dictated unity of action which, once attained, swept Zionism forward into the period of political negotiation. The resolution on Palestine, repeating the words of Balfour with the addition of a term out of the political phraseology of the hour, "Jewish Commonwealth," was incorporated into the Mandate which the accredited representatives took to the Peace Conference.

The immediate post-war years, roughly 1919-1921, constituted an era of confusion. "By the spring of 1920," writes an eminent American historian, "the spell of the war to end war was shat-

tered." The revelations of the Russian, German and Austrian archive, exposing secret treaties and negotiations, disillusioned the world, while the repudiation of President Wilson by his Republican Congress added to the bewilderment. This series of events inevitably delayed the setting up of the promised machinery for world reconstruction.

It was within these years that the American Zionist leaders entered the arena of international politics. During hostilities, Dr. Weizmann and Dr. Sokolow who were in London had conducted negotiations with European governments. By 1919, however, Washington and New York had become the moral, financial and political centers of Zionism. When the Wilson Mission proceeded to the Peace Conference in that year, it was followed by a representative body of American Zionists (Dr. Stephen S. Wise, Bernard Flexner, Joseph Fels, Louis Robison, Jacob de Haas, Prof. Felix Frankfurter, Howard Gans). Early in the summer Justice Brandeis' arrival strengthened the group immeasurably. After making a brief visit to Palestine in order to deepen his knowledge of the country and of the immediate practical problems which would require the attention of the Zionist Organization, he returned to London. Then in a series of conferences with European leaders there developed, mainly about the question of future organization of the movement, sharp differences which ultimately resulted in the withdrawal of Brandeis from active Zionist leadership. The European Zionists favored a continuation of the pre-war international organization under tried Zionist leadership. But American Zionism had left its traces in London and in Paris. One of the leaders later wrote: ". . . the conference was important for introducing American Zionism into Europe. Our card of introduction was the Pittsburgh Program. We are the recognized social force in Zionism today."

The first dissension in London had definite consequences in the United States, which became apparent in the twenty-second Zionist Convention in Chicago during September 1919. During the past year, membership had increased, so much so that Judge Mack in his presidential address to the Convention declared: ". . . beyond all question, to put it mildly, nine-tenths of the Jews of America are Zionists." The delegates were fired by the report of the negotiations at the Peace Conference. Moreover, President Wilson had responded to a memorandum formulating the Jewish claims to

Palestine (March 1919) with a reassuring note: "I am persuaded that the allied nations, with the fullest concurrence of our Government and our people, are agreed that in Palestine shall be laid the foundations of a Jewish Commonwealth." Nevertheless, the debate on organizational policy showed the beginning of a factional struggle. Fortunately, the report of Justice Brandeis, outlining a comprehensive plan of development for Palestine, absorbed the attention of the delegates. His plea that "all present differences of opinion within the movement and concerning the movement must be forgotten" was heeded, and the Convention reaffirmed its faith in the Brandeis program.

But on the international scene other disturbing factors appeared, indicating that beneath the surface, sinister powers of reaction were stirring. The resurgence of European economic and political rivalries threatened that Palestine be whittled down to the area of the Sykes-Picot Treaty. The growing antagonism against President Wilson in his own country, and the popular antagonism against the entering of the United States into the League of Nations, diminished the prestige of this country on the Continent. Wholly unexpected and shocking were the outbreaks of the Arabs against the Jews in several cities and agricultural districts of Palestine. But the Zionist leaders at once summoned every available power to their aid and on April 26, 1920, the San Remo decision made the Balfour Declaration into International Law. Sir Herbert Samuel was appointed the first High Commissioner of Palestine. The Zionist world shook with enthusiasm. Within a fortnight, the Z.O.A. held a Convention of National Emancipation in New York City. Over eleven hundred delegates from every state attended. The sessions concluded with a parade of about 100,000 Jews through the streets of the city.

American Zionism's second appearance in Europe was auspicious. A large delegation, headed by Justice Brandeis, exerted considerable influence on the memorable London Conference. Inevitably, however, the sessions brought into sharp relief the fundamental differences between the American and European representatives which were already apparent during the deliberations a year before. In short, Justice Brandeis' attempt to press a program of economic rehabilitation and political action in the spirit of the Pittsburgh Program precipitated a break with the Weizmann forces. Briefly summarized, the Brandeis program made three de-

mands: all Zionist effort must be directed toward the development of Palestine as the Jewish National Home; the world organization must have exclusive control of the political phases of the movement and to be so administered as to produce the maximum effort and support for the establishment of the Jewish National Home; the economic development must be conducted by a group of men of the highest financial standing who would have responsibility as well as control. (Brandeis had negotiated with Lord Reading, Lord Mond and James de Rothschild in England.) By the European Zionists this program was rejected as contrary to Zionist tradition in that it was democratic neither in administration nor representation, and by decentralizing the international organization, it weakened the solidarity of the movement. A counter-proposal to organize a Palestine Foundation Fund (*Keren Hayesod*), which would assume all the obligations of fund-raising throughout the world, was finally adopted by the conference.

Justice Brandeis did not accept this decision; he was uncompromising in his insistence that with the San Remo decision a new phase of the movement had been reached which called for the enlistment of men of the highest ability and experience. The gulf that separated him from Weizmann widened. While returning from the conference in August, 1920, he drew up the Zeeland Memorandum which succinctly set forth his views. The object of Zionism is "to populate Palestine within a comparatively short time with a preponderating body of manly self-supporting Jews who will develop into a homogeneous people with high Jewish ideals; who will develop and apply these Jewish spiritual and intellectual ideals; and who will ultimately become a self-governing commonwealth." The memorandum, however schematic, was a statesmanlike proposal to meet the new conditions that emerged. But in 1920, abnormal psychological factors dominated the new decade and The Zeeland Memorandum became the swan-song of the Brandeis era.

In the clash of attitudes, interests and programs at the Cleveland Convention in June, 1921, the outstanding issues were substantially those that had marked the London Conference. The Brandeis group, represented by Judge Mack, President of the Z.O.A., rejected the promotion of Diaspora nationalism as diverting Zionist effort from practical accomplishment in Palestine; also, it objected to the centralization of power in the world organiza-

tion. To answer these objections and to demand adherence to the mandate of the world conference, Dr. Weizmann and a group of his associates arrived in the United States before the Convention and were able to win over a majority of the delegates. When the Convention failed to return a vote of confidence in the administration, all the officers and the majority of the ablest associates of Justice Brandeis, including Mr. Justice Brandeis himself, resigned their offices.

During the seven years of Brandeis' leadership, American Zionism had attained its zenith. Profound political and social changes had come to pass, leaving in their wake an American Jewry more conscious of its newly acquired importance. During the period of reconstruction that followed the signing of the armistice, political victories as evidenced in the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate for Palestine heightened the expectation of the Zionist world. Zionist activities received wide public support. As varied as the political, organizational and educational enterprises were, they had been managed by a small and active group under the dynamic leadership of Brandeis. American Zionism was dominated by him and his policies so that these years became known as the Brandeis Era.

During the decade following, it becomes increasingly evident that though gradually the controversy abated, it did not die. The issues involved were not merely temporary, but the very structure and direction of the Zionist movement. In the controversies, therefore, that have appeared in the recent history of the Z.O.A., echoes of the past are clearly discernible.

Another significant trend in the development of Zionism in the United States during the last decade is the increasing decentralization of Zionist effort. Until 1921, unprecedented political conditions and uncommon leadership combined to produce unity in action; the achievement of Zionism was synonymous with the accomplishment of the Z.O.A. After 1921, owing to the division of power as a result of the controversy and a series of new historic developments that not only made the Jewish Homeland more and more acceptable to non-Zionist groups, but also necessitated separatist action on the part of diverse parties within the Zionist movement, the Z.O.A. no longer remained at the center of Zionist achievement. Whatever the interpretation of this tendency, there is no question of its reality. A few examples will suffice. Immedi-

ately after their withdrawal from active participation in the Z.O.A., the Brandeis-Mack group organized a Palestine Development Council (later recognized into the Palestine Economic Corporation) to foster economic undertakings in Palestine. With the development of official Zionist work in Palestine largely controlled by the Centrist group, the Misrahi, Poale Zion and Zeire Zion intensified the program of their own constituencies outside the Z.O.A. Hadassah, steadily growing in membership and strength, although nominally allied with the Z.O.A., actually developed as an autonomous organism, often exercising its powers at annual conventions. A number of youth organizations, such as Hashomer Hatzair, Brith Trumpeldor, Hechalutz (and in the last few years even Young Judaea, the "child of the Z.O.A.") developed without the stimulus or support of the Z.O.A. During the last ten years, the unity of the preceding epoch has been replaced by a growing diversity of Zionist interests, organizations and institutions.

To understand these tendencies as well as the whole political transformation of Zionism in America, certain important forces must be kept in mind. Of these, three were of especial significance, namely, the gradual reinterpretation of the political significance of the Jewish Homeland as incorporated in the White Papers from that of Churchill to Passfield, the steady growth of the Jewish Community in Palestine which has exercised increasing influence upon the Diaspora, and the universal political, social and economic upheavals since the war. The appearance of the Jewish Agency, of doctrinaire Revisionist criticism, of the recent conquests by Labor Zionism and of the growing supremacy of economic over political principles, acquire greater significance in the light of responses to these profound historic changes.

However severe a blow to the Z.O.A. was the withdrawal of the Brandeis-Mack faction, however disconcerting the initial thrusts at the political heritage of the early post-war years, the tide of Zionism was not stemmed. After 1921, leadership fell upon a group of devoted Zionists whose influence, however, was restricted to a certain part of the Jewish community. Under the guidance of Louis Lipsky, Morris Rothenberg, Louis Topkis and Hermann Conheim, with the assistance of the distinguished Zionist delegation then in America—Dr. Weizmann, M. M. Ussishkin and Shmarya Levin—the newly constituted administration launched the *Keren Hayesod* (Palestine Foundation Fund) which

had become the financial instrument of the World Zionist Organization. Further adjustments followed. The J.N.F. was reconstituted, reverting to its original task of "redemption of the soil"; that is, land purchase and land cultivation. The old organ of the Z.O.A., *The Maccabean,* was transformed into *The New Palestine* and in order to reach the Yiddish reading masses, *Dos Yiddische Volk* was published until 1929. With the passage of the Lodge-Fish Resolution, declaring the American approval of the Jewish National Home by both Houses of Congress in 1922, the administration scored a political victory that increased the confidence of its leaders. A new era was beginning. In its early stages it was an era of optimism and expansion.

From 1921 to 1925, the Z.O.A. consolidated the position of the *Keren Hayesod.* These were years of economic inflation in the United States, and Zionism rode high on the crest of its wave. Gradually, many of the members of the old faction, notably Dr. Stephen S. Wise, rejoined the forces. Theoretical questions were temporarily shelved. Everyone was absorbed in the crushing responsibility resting upon prosperous American Jewry to supply the major portion of funds for the rehabilitation of Palestine. As the receipts of the *Keren Hayesod* advanced into millions of dollars, hostility from oppositionist quarters seemed on the wane. Nationalist education, except as much as was incidental to the immense fund-raising activities, was obscured. All energies were concentrated toward one goal: money for Palestine. But despite the fact that the *Keren Hayesod* was raising about 50% of the Palestinian budget, its collected sums amounting to about $17,000,000 between 1921 and 1930 were quite incomparable with the incredible sum—$63,000,000 between 1919 and 1930—raised by the Joint Distribution Committee for the war-stricken Jews of Central and Eastern Europe. In view of the expanding community in Palestine and its increased needs, the contrast did not escape American Zionist leaders. It resulted not only in an intensification of effort, but in the crystallization of a plan for an extended Jewish Agency.

Fortunately there were at least two forces that counteracted the complete dominance of finance in American Zionism. First of all, the administration worked harmoniously with the world leadership from which it received political prestige and genuine support. The records of the 13th and 14th Congresses present unmistakable evidence of the fidelity of the Lipsky régime to the pro-

gram of the Weizmann Administration. Even in the tasks at home, the organization of the *Keren Hayesod* and the fund-raising involved and the early negotiations for the establishment of the extended Jewish Agency, Dr. Weizmann and his European associates were leaders. But even more potent in giving Zionism in America something more than a philanthropic significance was the growth of the *Yishub* and its reverberations in the United States. The quickening of Jewish immigration into Palestine, the defeat of Yiddishism by the Hebraists and the romance of *Halutziuth* soon caught the eye of the public. The *Yishub* was becoming an articulate organism; a spark, kindled during these early years, was rising into a flame which was fanned by Zionist propaganda. Thus the public became more and more aware of a vital entity there in contrast to the apparently philanthropic character which official Zionism was assuming.

Perhaps the most significant event in the course of these years was the official opening of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem on April 1, 1925. The launching of a new institution of higher learning in Palestine, received the acclaim of the whole civilized world. In the United States the event brought within the purview of the public several undertakings for the university which developed after its foundation was laid in 1918. For example, a group of eminent physicians in New York City, inspired by Dr. Einstein in 1921, organized the American Jewish Physicians' Committee which has aided materially the development of the Medical Department of the University. Early in 1925, Dr. Judah P. Magnes, Chancellor of the University, organized a large Advisory Committee under the chairmanship of Felix M. Warburg. Immediately after the opening a series of mass meetings were convened in many of the large cities throughout the country to raise funds.

By the spring of 1927 a succession of unfortunate events, particularly in Europe and Palestine, aroused the discontent and opposition which had been considered irrevocably silenced. For four unhappy years the shocks, the disappointments and the struggle resulting from internal dissension hung like a pall over American Zionism.

Whatever positive accomplishment there was during this period became obscured beneath innumerable conflicts. The records reveal that the collections of the *Keren Hayesod*, now reconstituted as the United Palestine Appeal, had gained substantially. The pages

of the *New Palestine* indicated the cultural revival that seemed imminent under the impact given by a number of distinguished visitors including Chaim Nachman Bialik, Nahum Sokolow, Ben Zwi, Vladimir Jabotinsky, by the magnificent performances of the Habima Art Theatre, by the skillful exhibitions of the Hakoah of Vienna, and by a sponsoring of youth work through the agency of Young Judaea and Avukah, while the official recognition of Zionist achievement in Palestine provided another factor. In 1927 the Z.O.A. was invited to send a representative to a world conference on land reclamation in Honolulu. In his letter to Louis Lipsky the Secretary of the Interior of the U. S. said: "The world knows of the plans of the Zionist Organization in the reclamation of Palestine. What has been done and what is proposed will interest the conference at Honolulu." But the spell was quickly broken; its transience was symbolized in the organization of the abortive Jewish Cultural Association in 1926. The leaders candidly recognized "that it was dangerous to neglect the cultural field any longer" and appreciated that an instrument of such proportions was "a departure in American Zionism." But cultural aspirations could not dissolve the clouds that had been slowly gathering.

The events which changed the tranquillity and hopefulness of 1925 into the hostility of 1928 were both external and internal. Two external occurrences stand out in sharp relief. In Central and Eastern Europe Jewry suffered bitterly from a new turn in the post-war economic collapse that quickly cut off middle-class immigration to Palestine and proportionately decreased the contributions to the *Keren Hayesod;* while in Palestine the disproportionate number of immigrants in 1925 (approximately 33,000) and 1926 resulted in an unwholesome "boom period" and a short-lived economic inflation. The resultant deflation, or "crisis" as the contemporary press labelled it, had undreamed of reverberations in the United States. The failure of the American Zion Commonwealth, a quasi-official commercial institution operating primarily in real estate in Palestine, shook the confidence of its investors and laid the administration open to unsparing criticism. The renewed drive for funds initiated by the Joint Distribution Committee for colonization in Russia led to an open break with the non-Zionist leaders and caused the discontinuance of the negotiations for the extension of the Jewish Agency begun in 1924 under the leadership of Chaim Weizmann and Louis Marshall. The general trend

of events precipitated a discussion of Zionist policy in the course of which criticisms were hurled at the Administration, both national and international, by Revisionists, Brandeisists, and Laborites. These critics presented an array of facts which could not easily be denied or explained away. The main charges which were directed against the leadership were their apparent violation of the real goal of Zionism by a passive acquiescence in the *status quo,* their indifference to the critical conditions in Palestine, and their opposition to a "tolerant, intelligent discussion of principles." That the critics were partially successful in carrying their point is discernible in the presidential address to the thirtieth Zionist Convention in 1927 where many of the criticisms were incorporated in Mr. Lipsky's recommendations to the delegates and where he boldly admitted: "It may be that we have come to the end of a period."

That was not all. Not only did minority organizations spring up in the important centers of the East, but an anti-administration faction within the Z.O.A. began to assert itself as early as 1926. Under the leadership of predominantly Brandeis followers, it became articulate at the Atlantic City Convention in 1927 and reached its climax in the Pittsburgh Convention in 1928. Real issues were obscured by personal and group antagonisms. Even though the Administration was vindicated by re-election, the victory was costly. There ensued a noticeable paralysis of activity and an alienation of many individuals, as well as the powerful Hadassah organization, which under trying circumstances was compelled to throw its weight in the political arena. Meanwhile another issue presented itself which threatened to deepen the breach. The delegates received a summary of the report and the recommendations of the Palestine Survey Commission which was regarded as the basis for further negotiations for the extended Jewish Agency. During this whole period no other question had been debated with more warmth. A large segment of Zionists opposed the union of Zionist and non-Zionist forces and fermenting opinion had consolidated a strong opposition. But the discussion at the conference amounted to nothing more than a relatively mild political debate. It was conditioned, as were all the subsequent deliberations, by the increasing needs which the Zionist forces could no longer adequately supply. Thus a brief resolution commending the report and bidding the Actions Committee to consummate the negotiations was passed by the convention.

1929, the 25th anniversary of the death of Theodor Herzl, was an evil year. The peaceful atmosphere that marked its early stages, exacerbated the subsequent sense of confusion and ineptitude. The thirty-second annual convention in Detroit passed like an Indian summer; the presidential message read like a prose poem on the magic spell of *Eretz Israel.* The extended Jewish Agency came into being in Zurich in July, and although Zionists chafed under the heavy concessions that were made to the new partners, the promise of this first assemblage inspired a fresh feeling of hope. Also, Palestine had withstood the economic crisis; the resumption of immigration signified that self-curative forces were already at work.

But beneath the outward calm a storm was brewing, shown by the criticism and inquiry that appeared during 1928 and the first eight months of 1929 in a multitude of books, leaflets and essays. First, the discussion that preceded and followed the reports by experts of the Joint Palestine Survey Commission indicated that among the Zionists and non-Zionists there were social and political interests irreconcilably opposed to each other. Another type of literature, ranging from the *Herzl Memorial Volume* and *Hechalutz,* a small volume commemorating the tenth anniversary of the pioneer movement, to the Earl of Balfour's *Speeches on Zionism,* depicted the progress of Zionism during the past decade. The most searching, the most realistic and the most widely discussed piece of literature came from the hands of a staunch British Zionist, Josiah C. Wedgwood. Striking at the very roots of the Zionist objective in Palestine in relation to the British Empire, he proposed in his *Seventh Dominion* that the Jews enter into an official partnership with Great Britain and that Palestine be reconstituted as a seventh dominion of the British Commonwealth. This radical proposal fell into the Zionist world like a bombshell; it was the subject of widespread discussion and debate. The appearance in 1929 of Jacob de Haas' biography of Louis D. Brandeis, which contained reprints of all the Zionist addresses of Brandeis, and the same author's articles in *The Vanguard* and *The Menorah Journal,* left no doubt that the Brandeis faction was gathering momentum.

The subsequent appalling events have been summarized by one commentator: "Then immediately came the Arab attacks in Palestine, and following them, blow upon blow; the death of Louis Marshall; Dr. Magnes' statement opposing political Zionism; the

Shaw Report; the stoppage of Jewish immigration into Palestine. A hostile non-Zionist Jewish press—Agency or no Agency—caught up the cry against political Zionism; the liberal general press of America to a large degree did likewise." Other misfortunes multiplied: the death of the Earl of Balfour, and of Lee K. Frankel; the issuance of the Passfield White Paper; and finally the economic collapse in the United States, beginning with the Wall Street crash in October, 1929. They combined to smash every political illusion that had been nourished since the feverish days of Paris and San Remo.

Upon both the leadership and the rank and file these events had one salutary effect. They obliterated, tentatively at least, the deplorable divisions in Zionist ranks; they resulted in a necessary union of forces. At the Cleveland Convention in 1920, after preliminary negotiations with the Brandeis-Mack group, the election of a compromised slate of officers * guaranteed a united front in American Zionism. This administration was acceptable to the Jewish Agency which through its chairman, Mr. Felix M. Warburg, publicly expressed its approval.

During the past few years, new economic and intellectual forces have been thrown into the balance. Zionism in America, like other movements, has been subjected to the pressure of the upheavals that have shaken the foundations of our social order and, not unlike other movements, has floundered in an attempt to re-enunciate a philosophy and to rebuild an organizational technique. Of the old phraseologies and sanctions, much has become obsolete; and in the process of transformation and healing, a realignment of ideas and institutions became inevitable. The recent tendencies can be briefly sketched.

Despite the union of forces within the Z.O.A., it is clear that the organization declined rapidly in strength and effectiveness. The political and financial functions were taken over by the Jewish Agency and the inability to force itself out of the morass of deficits rendered it inept in the attempt to introduce a broader cultural and economic program. Even the normal channels of propaganda, such as periodicals and speakers, have been almost

* Judge Julian W. Mack, Dr. S. S. Wise, Jacob de Haas, Robert Szold, Mrs. Edward Jacobs, Samuel J. Rosensohn, Abraham Tulin, Rabbi Louis I. Newman, Dr. Nathan Ratnoff, Rabbi A. H. Silver, Rabbi James Heller, Louis Lipsky, Morris Rothenberg, Nelson Ruttenberg, Judge William M. Lewis, Abraham Goldberg.

completely cut off. Nevertheless, the administration made several notable advances in the organization of the American-Palestine Committee consisting of an impressive array of non-Jewish distinguished American sympathizers, through the efforts of Emanuel Neumann, a member of the Palestine Executive; the sponsoring of the American Economic Committee for Palestine which has disseminated scientifically prepared information about the economic possibilities of Palestine; and the organization of a National Youth Federation. Concurrently Hadassah and Junior Hadassah rose to a commanding position in Zionist life because of their achievements during the decade following the war. It developed a matchless efficiency under the guidance of an exceptionally able and devoted group of leaders, notably Henrietta Szold, who during the recent epoch has served in the Palestine Executive. Not only has this group continuously broadened its Palestine program, but in the United States it is the one Zionist organization that has with some degree of success developed a program of cultural and social work within the American community, and insured its future by nurturing a strong parallel youth organization.

Of supreme importance is the appearance of a new emphasis upon the economic tasks of Zionism. This departure was presented in an address by Robert Szold at the Cleveland Convention, explicitly elaborated in a pamphlet by Israel B. Brodie, *A Program for the Acceleration of the Absorptive Capacity of Palestine* and incorporated into the practical program of the American Economic Committee for Palestine. In brief, the program is this: "While . . . we should endeavor to develop a successful and self-supporting agronomy, the present situation demands that we shift our emphasis to the stimulation and rapid development of industry and commerce in Palestine. We must husband our resources and must concentrate them on the most effective instrument for opening the doors in Palestine to a large Jewish immigration. . . . We must concentrate our resources upon a selection of 'key' industries which are likely to exercise the widest influence upon the whole economy of the country and which will vitally enlarge the capacity of Palestine to absorb the largest number of immigrants in the shortest possible time." The wisdom of this program has been illustrated in the economic trend of Palestine during the past two years.

Paralleling the increasing growth of radical sentiment, the Labor Zionist groups, ranging from the Hashomer Hatsair to the

Zionist Labor Party, have multiplied their forces, increased their financial power and forcefully challenged the platform of the Central Zionist groups. Not that these forces had been inactive during the past decades. Organized in 1903, they had sprung into greater prominence during the war period under the leadership of Dr. Syrkin and had helped to shape the Pittsburgh Program. During the last five years their ranks in the United States were strengthened by regular visits of distinguished leaders from Europe and Palestine who lifted the movement out of obscurity. With the organization of the Leagues for Labor Palestine which are aimed directly at the progressive and radical English-speaking groups, Labor Zionism has entered the field of American Zionism.

When we turn the kaleidoscope on the period under survey, two facts are revealed. First, Zionism in America has developed a network of organizations devoted almost exclusively to fund-raising for Palestine. Secondly, Zionism has brought about, chiefly through the influence of its achievement in Palestine, a broader acceptance of the nationalist viewpoint, especially in religious and educational circles. In 1920, for example, the incorporation of the *Hatikvah* in a hymnal of the Reform wing of American Jewry was unthinkable; when the decade came to a close it was an established fact. Even greater changes have been effected in the domain of Jewish education. Developments in Palestine have transformed the technique and content of almost all our educational institutions. The future course of Zionism in America may be largely determined by the extent to which we can refashion the present organizations to meet the demands of the next decade and deepen our understanding of our national destiny.

# POLITICAL ZIONISM SINCE 1914

JACOB DE HAAS

Quite apart from any Zionist effort or interest, the British Government began to speculate at the end of 1914 on the possibility of making some adjustment with the Jews, and with the Zionists in particular, with respect to the future of Palestine. There was in England then, as there still is, a political group who called themselves Easterners, who felt that the war was a struggle for the possession of the Near East and that Germany could best be defeated by an attack on her Near East ally, Turkey. This theory was very popular with the military class in England. It represented the viewpoint of Lord Kitchener who had been Sirdar of Egypt, of Sir Mark Sykes, an Anglo-Catholic, who had been practically nurtured in Near Eastern politics, Sir Hugh Cecil, Winston Churchill and the whole of the British entourage in Egypt.

This policy led to the ill-fated attack on Gallipoli, where the Zion Mule Corps was engaged, and in the double campaign in Mesopotamia and Palestine. For the direct attack on Turkey the allies were not prepared. For the campaign in Mesopotamia, and particularly in Palestine, there had been ample preparation on both sides in the form of endless surveys of the country and very obvious propaganda amongst the inhabitants. Colonel Lawrence, the hero of the Desert Campaign, was actually mapping the Akaba district when in August 1914 he received orders to join the colors.

The German interest in Palestine had manifested itself as a factor in the "drang nach Osten" which became a basic political policy in Germany and was dramatized by the Kaiser's famous visit to Palestine in 1898, when he gave Theodor Herzl and a Zionist delegation an audience outside the Jaffa Gate. This policy was furthered by scores of minor political incidents, such as the erection of the sanitarium on Olivet, the erection of a church in Jerusalem, the encouragement of the Temple colonists, and the commercial enterprise of German shipping companies. It was abetted by the

Hilfs Verein der Deutschen Juden, which subsidized Jewish schools, founded the Haifa Technicum and inculcated Germanism in Palestine.

The Russian interest in Palestine, which had suffered a defeat in the Crimean War, was maintained by governmental subsidy of immense pilgrimages, the building of the new pilgrim house in Jerusalem, and a tower on the Mount of Olives which, while maintained for religious purposes, overlooked Palestine from Kerak to Carmel, and by regarding the Russo-Polish Jews settling in Palestine as Russians.

The French interest in Palestine was historical. It had to do with a claim to overlordship of the Latin church and a definite policy in Syria where France dominated, as well as by the building of the harbor at Beirut by the Maronite community and the teaching of French in the Palestinian schools.

All of these were direct national interests at the outbreak of the war and so recognized in Palestine and in the chancellories of Europe.

The English policy was complicated by fifty years of political maneuvering in Arabia. Most of the Emirs of the coastal tribes of Arabia were in the pay of the British Government and collected their allowances at Aden, a British possession. Thus while the British made a direct attack on Mesopotamia, Lawrence began his adventure in Trans-Jordan and the Egyptian authorities negotiated with the Sheriff Hussein of Mecca. To these three lines of attack the British Foreign Office added its inquiries into the Jewish possibilities in Palestine. At the outbreak of the World War there existed the well known Zionist aim with respect to Palestine, but no Zionist political policy, and no political instrumentality capable of acting. The headquarters were in Berlin, anathema to the allies, and the Zionist Organization had for some years concentrated on the problem of counteracting the pro-German pressure of Palestinian Jewry which the Hilfs Verein was exercising through its education program. It thus came about that the earliest British Foreign Office contacts on the Palestinian problem were, as far as the record shows, with non-Zionists and some pro-Zionists. The Zionist effort in England, as that in the United States, had to be created, de novo, as an incident of the war itself, and was facilitated by the fact that the World Zionist Executive transferred all its authority to the Zionist Provisional Committee in New York.

That Zionists succeeded in pressing the issue to a conclusion is evidence of the spirit which prevailed in the war period.

As the war developed it became evident that the Russians had given up their 19th century policy of possession of Palestine, and were willing to exchange it for control of Constantinople and the converting of the Black Sea into a great Russian lake, guarded by ownership of territory on both sides. The Palestinian problem therefore resolved itself into one of creating an accord between England and France. The British had the advantage in military strength, and their bases of operation in Egypt and Aden. The French were pre-eminent in Syria where from 1860 they had carefully and assiduously cultivated their political interests. The mass of cables which passed to and fro between the foreign offices were devoted to the reconciliation of the rivalries. In this contest the British had two trump cards, an Islamic policy for Arabia, a Jewish policy for Palestine. The French greatly desired possession of all Syria and Palestine but eventually contented themselves with control of Syria, clinging however to some sort of internationalization of Jerusalem. The British were willing to cede Syria to France, but they were equally determined to obtain possession of the Bay of Acre, the port of Haifa and to develop a road or a pipe line to Mosul. When the Italians entered the war, they demanded participation in the negotiations and in the division of the spoils with the result that British control of Haifa practically became the paramount Palestinian interest from the British political military point of view.

To further the Lawrence plan, the British made their agreement with Hussein while Sykes and Picot, the two men who first represented England and France in the negotiations with the Zionists, wrote with Russia the agreement for the division of the whole of the Near East. Into the subdivisions of this agreement all subordinate interests—Arabs and Jews—were to have place.

The Jewish pressure for consideration in the war policies which first manifested itself at the end of 1914, became more insistent in 1916 when the English were considering their treaty with the Arabs and the signing of the famous Sykes-Picot treaty. The Jewish claim became of greater interest to the Western Powers when Russia collapsed. There is no reason to doubt that at the time, and later, the viewpoint represented by Zionist leadership in England and in America envisaged a Jewish National Home in Palestine as

large as Palestine itself and it is equally clear that the authors of the Sykes-Picot treaty made no attempt to visualize the geographic content of a Palestine which would meet the Jewish interest. The efforts upon which the Zionist leadership concentrated in London was that of dragging the issue, vital to the Jewish future, out of the ruck of war problems, and of bringing it into the open, as an avowed pro-ally policy. There was no knowledge of the Sykes-Picot treaty, nor of the Hussein-McMahon agreements, and although the substance of the Jewish National Home, in the sense of authority, police power, etc., was touched upon in all the numerous drafts which preceded the formulation of the Balfour Declaration, the utmost pressure was directed to a public avowal of policy and the public recognition of the Jewish right in Palestine. The interchange of London and New York Zionist cables during this period concentrated on this point.

The avowed British policy which became paramount in 1916 and public property early in 1917 was bitterly opposed by the League of British Jews and by the firm objections to a pro-Jewish policy manifested by the late Edwin Sydney Montagu, who was a member of the War Cabinet and who fought to the end against anything that would smack of Zionism. The ambiguities of the Declaration were unquestionably his achievement, supported by a number of English Jews. It is equally certain that the Government officials at the time attached no importance to these ambiguities, and in fact, interpreted them both by their conduct and by their words in London and in Palestine as expressing the full measure of Zionist aspirations.

In the course of the negotiations, there developed two striking factors. One was that while the Government of the United States had no territorial interest in Palestine, President Wilson was understandingly sympathetic towards the Zionist program. The other was that the Jewish fear of the Roman Catholic Church and of the possibility of the preaching of the new crusade or of the welling up of a deep religious emotion averse to the Jews, which had been discussed in anti-Zionist circles publicly and privately for many years, had no warrant in fact. Nothing happened that indicated that the Powers feared the policy of the Vatican or that they in any way felt that a religious issue could or would be raised. The Zionist gain from the Declaration was strengthened by three acts on which however all Zionists were not united at the time. One

was the appointment of the Zionist Commission to Palestine; second, the organization and dispatching of the Hadassah Medical Unit; and third, the dispatching to Palestine of the Jewish Legions.

At the Peace Conference the prevailing attitude among statesmen was that the recognition of the Jewish rights in Palestine was a non-contentious issue. It is significant and worth recording that the only opposition to it and of the hearing of the Zionist delegation at the session of the Council at which the Powers recognized the Jewish claim, came from anti-Zionist groups in America who did not achieve a hearing even in private, and from Sylvian Levy who was heard by the Council on the same day that Dr. Weizmann, Mr. Sokolow and Mr. Ussishkin, in February 1919 presented the Zionist claims. Three drafts of proposals were prepared for presentation at these sessions. The third, which is the official one and which was signed by the representatives of the World Zionist Organization, the representatives of the Jewish population and the representatives of the Zionist Organization of America, stated that Zionists envisaged the formulation of a Mandate for Palestine, the creation of the machinery by which the country should be governed, as well as the recognition of the Hebrew language, the Jewish Sabbath, etc. The conferring of the Mandate for Palestine on Great Britain, which expressed the desire of the British Government and was refused by the French was voiced by the American Jewish Congress in December 1918 at the instance of Dr. Stephen S. Wise in terms that subsequently became stereotyped in describing the relations of Great Britain to Palestine and the Jewish position in general. It was unfortunate from the Zionist point of view, that despite the mass of experts available, the enormous amount of material prepared, and the maps drawn, that the Powers at the Peace Conference were not prepared to define either the Mandate or the territory which it governed. It is of interest at this point to note that despite the fact that the Arabs were represented in Paris by Prince Feisal, whose two agreements showed a perfect readiness to meet the Zionist viewpoint of the future of Palestine, that the only group interested in the integrity of Palestine and in its economic possibilities, in its upbuilding and development, were the Zionists. Therefore in 1920 there fell upon the Zionists the burden of trying to prevent the splitting of Palestine according to the Sykes-Picot treaty which ignored the physical configurations, the country, its possible water needs and its economic development.

The Zionists succeeded, largely owing to American pressure, in rectifying the northern boundary. They failed however to obtain the agreement by which the El Arish district should be included in Palestine. Nor, despite the fact that a group of Zionists for nearly two years devoted themselves to the drafting and re-drafting of the Mandate, were they, in the final analysis, permitted to shape its terms. This was largely prevented by the fact that the agreement to allot the Mandates was the act of the powers immediately concerned. Palestine was awarded to Great Britain and Syria to France, and Sir Herbert Samuel appointed as the first High Commissioner to Palestine at the San Remo Conference in 1920. This act, coming on top of the outbreak of the Jaffa riots, seemed so remarkable a fulfillment of Zionist desires that it obscured the difficulties inherent in the situation.

Into the Mandate itself there was written to the gratification of the Jews and the Zionists, the Balfour Declaration and the recognition of the historic claims of the Jews to Palestine. The high idealism as well as many of the safeguards suggested by the Zionists had been omitted from the document as well as a considerable number of minor points which technically, at least, would have affected the future policy of the Mandatory Power. The issuance of the Mandate, in July 1922, was to a large extent countered by the Churchill White Paper, the writing of which is generally attributed to Sir Herbert Samuel. It was the outcome of the pressure exercised by the anti-Zionistic Arabs in Palestine who established an organization, set up an Executive, sent a delegation to London and who thus were permitted by the Mandatories to put themselves in possession of a technical relation to the Mandatory Power which was nowhere implied or suggested in the Mandate. The actual text of the Churchill White Paper was regarded and is to some extent still regarded as superseding the text of the Mandate. The Zionist leadership gave its approval to this document, and the Congress held subsequently could do nothing in opposition to this *fait accompli.*

The next major act was the division by the British Government of Palestine into two mandated areas, with Trans-Jordan as a separate entity ruled by the same administration as that prevailing in Palestine but distinct from it. The motivation of this act which has been burdensome to the local administration, which has never been able to do anything for the development of Trans-Jordan,

and the failure of the Zionist Organization to protest or struggle against it, has not been clarified. This division of Palestine against all historic and economic concepts narrowed what is often described as "Jewish Palestine," and at the same time destroyed the possibilities of Trans-Jordan which, hemmed in at the north by the French occupation under mandate of the Hauran, has neither outlet or opportunity except through Palestine. Independent of the Zionist propaganda for the opening of Trans-Jordan to Jews, which was the first concrete aspiration of the Revisionists, and now has become a well-defined Zionist policy, the current move of the Trans-Jordan Arabs to lease lands to Jews, and the half-hearted British acquiescence to this step, is the natural outcome of the most obscure policy pursued by the British since they accepted the Mandate.

It would perhaps be correct to say that from the appointment of Sir Herbert Samuel as High Commissioner the World Zionist Organization abandoned major political problems. He was trusted as a Jew on the spot, a man familiar with the details of statecraft and government, and in the main his views, whether they found mental approval or not, were accepted, and his policies as in the temporary creation of an Advisory Council were followed by the Jews in Palestine as well as by the Zionist Executive. The greatest check to this confidence was the transfer of the Beisan lands to an Arab group, whose claims are still regarded as doubtful, and part of whose lands are being repurchased by the Government at considerable expense for an experiment in the resettlement of "landless Arabs."

Apart from this however there followed from late in 1920 a resurgence in Zionist ranks of a new phase of the old Hoveve Zion policy of practical effort in Palestine, and a concentration of interest in the development of Galilee. Land policy replaced diplomatic problems, and the Zionist movement as a whole became absorbed in the problems which settlement and agricultural colonization in particular naturally create. This concentration, unavoidable in many respects, coincided with the concentration of Jewish interests in Europe in the operations of the minority rights clauses inserted in the treaties of the various states created by the Peace Conference. Local Zionist leadership lost itself for a time in the operation of these new political rights, and the aroused interest in Palestinian settlement paused when confronted with these new

political opportunities. It thus came about that the initiative in resettlement was limited to the younger generation, the *Halutzim*, whose bread and butter problem in a country neither agriculturally nor industrially developed absorbed the resources as well as the ingenuity of those in control. As soon however as the gilt was off the minority rights, the celebrated Polish middle class influx began, and though it was individually not successful, it set in motion the new views which called forth a demand for a new and more insistent interest in the major political problems affecting Palestine.

From the issuance of the Mandate in July 1922 until the riots of August 1929, the Zionist movement may be said to have withdrawn from any effort to raise any major political issue in connection with the control of Palestine. It concerned itself largely with making representations to the High Commissioner in connection with the detailed administrative problems of the country. It could not realize any of the promises made in the Mandate with respect to settlement of the land or of the turning over of state lands for Jewish settlement. Although the Churchill White Paper admits the inherent right of Jews to settle in Palestine, the Zionist Executive was compelled to bargain for the right of entering of Jews. It experienced difficulties in the adjustment of tariffs which were aimed to produce revenues and not to encourage local industries and internal development. Financially the Zionists had to carry the burden of raising funds for purposes which might have been regarded as the obligation of the Government in the development of the country. The Palestine Administration set its gauges by the normal requirements of an under developed Arab population, and therefore in most things practically compelled the Jews to pay for everything—schools, hospitals, etc.—all that which is above the native standard and intended to meet the needs of western immigration. The Government Administration became more and more that of the Crown colony type, chosen dominantly from the British Civil Service, and therefore disqualifying all but British Jews from all but minor positions. The ramifications of these two phases have never been seriously discussed in Zionist circles. It has lately been recognized that the placing of Palestine under the Colonial Office, whoever be its secretary, carries in practise an implication which the Mandate does not even remotely suggest, for it thrusts upon Jew and Arab alike that condition of subordination which is implied in the word "native," and brings

into Palestine the type of official, who however well-meaning, regards his period of office as merely an incident in a career whose natural goal is preferment and higher station, wherever that better post be located. At the other end is the natural problem of the Arabs who have always regarded taxes as tribute and whose desires for modern improvements and highly developed municipal life can come only with slow experience and the cultivation of needs. It can be fairly said that from 1925 to 1929, the period in which the idea of the Jewish Agency was developed and brought to fruition, there was on the part of the Zionist Organization a considerable tendency to swing away from a nationalistic political policy to an ameliorative social policy, so that while there were scores of occasions for making representations to the British Government in London and to the High Commissioner in Palestine, these representations were not presented with undue vigor nor did they concern major problems nor was the public interest aroused in them. There was a belief that the Zionist leadership had the goodwill and support of the British Government. Every Congress passed its resolution of faith in Great Britain. Dissensions, discontent and criticism were buried in the protracted sessions of the political commission, which had been a feature of each succeeding Congress. Party rivalry and party interest obscured the consideration of the higher and more imperative common interests, and the dissatisfaction either with the policy of the leadership in its conduct towards the Mandatory Power or with that Power itself found its expression by a curious negative policy. Either the Congress abstained from adopting a vote of confidence in its Executive, or the leader was elected by a majority or a large minority abstaining from voting, or as happened at one Congress, no President was elected and the Executive merely continued in office. The unforgotten riots of 1929 forced a reaction in Zionist circles to which all present attitudes, prior to the development of the German crisis, can be traced. The Zurich Congress closed with the usual assurance of the leadership, embracing the whole Executive, that it stood well with England and that the Jewish future was to be brightened by the creation of the Extended Jewish Agency. A few days later events sadly proved the weakness of the Jewish position and the indifference of the administrative officials to the protection of Jewish life and property in Palestine. In the heat and excitement of this new turn of affairs, the strongest exponents of the British-confidence

policy turned bitterly on the British Government and assumed in vehement language all the criticism which they had opposed as untrue and unworthy at Zurich. In the haste to save prestige and the Zionist position in Palestine, the leadership found an almost closed door both in London and Geneva where Premier MacDonald was attending the League of Nations sessions. The conduct of the inquiry into the riots, held by the Administration in Palestine, the pressure exercised against the Jews in Palestine, the agitation of the Arabs in and out of Palestine, the forbidding Jews to follow their accustomed practises at the Wailing Wall, were an unquestionable downthrust for Zionism in any and every aspect. The British reiteration of the Balfour Declaration, checked by its actual policies, conveyed no conviction and the political hopelessness of the situation was emphasized at the Berlin session of the Actions Committee when Dr. Weizmann frankly advocated the Abandonment of the fundamental principle of the movement. In that mood political measures were at an end. In the meantime however the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations had turned its annual session of reporting on the conduct of mandates, into a critical and far-reaching inquiry into the British policy in Palestine. Its vigorous views couched in all the niceties of the diplomatic language, irritated the British Colonial Secretary to the point of issuing the Passfield White Paper. That document published October 1930, may be regarded as the lowest level reached in the diplomatic record of the Zionist movement since 1908 when the Young Turks, then in power, blandly negatived the whole Zionist policy.

Fervently repeating the Balfour Declaration and quoting the Churchill White Paper, Lord Passfield inverted the Declaration making the Jewish development of Palestine wholly dependent upon and subservient to the Arab position. The only course open to Zionist and Agency leadership, resignation, followed. More striking and effective was the world Jewish protest. Zionist diplomacy was once more in the open and the British Government began a long and tedious negotiation with the Agency and Zionist leadership which culminated in the issuance early in 1931 of the MacDonald letter, which affected to amend the situation, but in reality merely modified the harsher language employed by Lord Passfield. The exact measure of authority resting in this document has been questioned. Dr. Weizmann accepted it as the basis of an

accord; the Zionist Congress of 1931 took the opposite view. For all practical purposes it has disappeared in the welter of events, and though it may in the future have some bearing on events, it has none at this time.

Lord Passfield had strengthened his position by appointing Sir John Hope Simpson as Commissioner to investigate the agricultural possibilities of Palestine and the outcome of his report, which was wholly adverse to the Jews, was the appointment of the Louis French Commission for the investigation of the problem of the so-called "landless Arabs" in Palestine, and the planning of a project to take care of them and incidentally of some phase of Jewish settlement. A change had come in the direction of Zionist affairs and the Agency declined to associate itself with the Commission, whose findings have never been published, but whose conclusions were rejected by the Jewish Agency as well as by the Arab Executive. There remained of the general tenor of the Passfield attitude the attempted restriction of the sale of lands to Jews and the restriction of Jewish immigration on the basis of the theory of "the absorptive capacity of the land."

The fall of the Labor Government, which retired Lord Passfield from office, the appointment of a new High Commissioner, Sir Arthur Grenfell Wauchope, and the retirement of a few officials, brought about a visible and more encouraging outlook in political affairs. Some tariffs that militated against Jewish development were reduced, the nervous tension between Jews and Arabs was diminished, but on the other hand there was talk at the Session of the Permanent Mandates Commission of the setting up of a Legislative Council in Palestine. At one time it was announced that this issue would be forced on the population, even if all groups opposed it. It remains more or less of a menace to the internal peace of the country. Less serious though wholly burdensome on the Jews would be the imposition of an income tax, which has been a subject of discussion in political circles in the last year.

But it may be said with sober truth that the Jewish people have since the fall of 1931 taken the political situation in their own hands by their remarkable ability to meet the restrictions imposed on immigrants and so swell the so-called capitalistic class in Palestine. Their settlement created new opportunity and led to a remarkable development of the Sharon. There has been continuously found new opportunity for labor and other elements, so that as

Palestine is one of the few lands in the world that has not suffered from the depression, the Administration has found it wise and profitable to issue more and more certificates for the labor class. This condition has reacted on the German Jewish need for a land of refuge, and though only a minimum number have reached that haven or may be facilitated to settle there in the next year or so, it is only to Palestine that they turn with a sense of permanence and hope.

There is a marked difference between the British attitude and method of 1929-30 and 1932-33, but this improvement cannot lead to another abandonment of political interest. The new settlement, the very incoming of considerable number of Jews who had no a priori interest in Jewish nationalism, the task of developing either the Huleh or Trans-Jordan, while presenting endless technical and practical problems, also presents acute and important political problems, both diplomatic and internal. It may be therefore safe to assume that these diplomatic and political phases of Zionism will henceforth be more in the ascendant, and more keenly discussed in public than they were in past years.

# THE REDEMPTION OF THE LAND

BY ELIAS M. EPSTEIN

## HISTORY OF THE JEWISH NATIONAL FUND

The "Jewish National Fund" is the English name of the institution which acquires land in Palestine for the Jewish National Home. In Hebrew it is known as *Keren Kayemeth LeYisrael* or *Permanent Jewish Fund.*

The idea of buying land in Palestine springs traditionally from the verse in Leviticus ". . . And ye shall give redemption to the land," which is considered by the Talmud as one of the greatest of the commandments. A transfer of land in Palestine to Jews may be signed even on the Sabbath. Its present practical meaning began with the *Hoveve Zion* in the early eighties when the first necessity facing the pioneers was land on which to settle. But a deeper meaning was given to it with the rise of the Zionist movement which, with its national aim, required the soil as its basis. Integrated into this national aspiration was the return to nature and to fundamental values.

The Jewish National Fund, registered in London as a British Limited Liability Company in 1907, is controlled by a Board of Directors elected by the General Council of the Zionist Organization. Its President is Menahem M. Ussishkin. Its receipts are gifts collected by numerous workers in every country. Its headquarters are in Jerusalem. Land is bought or acquired by gift or concession and remains the inalienable property of the Fund, which holds it in trust for the Jewish people. The vesting of ownership of the land in the J. N. F., itself controlled by the Zionist Organization, and financed by popular contribution, ensures the redemption of the land by the people for the people.

At a Zionist Conference in Kattowitz, in 1884, Professor Hermann Schapira first broached the idea of a Land Fund. At the Fifth Zionist Congress, Basle, December, 1901, it was decided, at the instance of Herzl, to found the Jewish National Fund. An

office, under Johann Kremenzky, was opened in Vienna, as a center for communication with the Jews of many countries. Representatives were appointed and by means of Stamps, the Golden Book, and the Blue Box, etc., LP. 40,000 were raised in the first two years. In 1906 the Head Office moved to Cologne and in 1907 reported a fund of LP. 70,000, of which 12½% had been invested in Palestine. The aim of the Fund then was to form and hold a large reserve against the time of mass immigration.

After the first purchases of land in Palestine, the J. N. F. was driven by force of circumstances to finance other activities, such as the Bezalel School of Arts and Crafts; loans for building houses in Tel Aviv schools; farm equipment, etc. Those works were carried out by the Palestine Office opened in 1906 in Jaffa under Dr. Arthur Ruppin. In 1912 the J. N. F. facilitated Yemenite immigration to Palestine. At the Twelfth Zionist Congress in 1913, the J. N. F. was instructed to further its settlement activity on behalf of Jewish laborers in Palestine, who found it difficult to compete with Arab labor in the privately owned Jewish plantations. In 1914, the offices of the Fund moved to The Hague. Its progress in Palestine was blocked by the War, but it collected large sums in the Diaspora. In 1920-21, when it again concentrated on land purchases only, it began buying on a large scale, especially in the Emek Israel. The Head Office moved to Jerusalem in 1922.

### THE J. N. F. IN PALESTINE

Land is bought either from large landowners, usually Arabs resident abroad, who gain little from the soil for lack of capital to invest and of capacity to develop it; or from small holders who have more land than they can themselves use. The far greater portion of land bought by Jews, and especially by the J. N. F., is from the former class.

The condition of the land when bought is generally wild. It has been only poorly cultivated and its fertility exhausted. It is often filled with swamps, where the malarial mosquito breeds. The fields have tall weeds and the hillsides are stony. Both for the sake of health and for the good of the soil, extensive drainage works are undertaken by the J. N. F., which diverts the streams that cause marshes, using them for irrigation. Modern water-works for drinking purposes are also installed. The Zionist Congress has

undertaken to supply water systems in the future, leaving the J. N. F. free for the acquisition of land. All present settlements on J. N. F. land will, however, be supplied with water. The J. N. F. also plants forest trees, such as, eucalyptus, pines, acacias, etc., to improve the soil and the productivity of the land. A separate Tree Gift Fund defrays the cost of such trees. This "curing" of the soil, left desolate or abused for centuries, is essential not only to safeguard health, but also to ensure a fair revenue for the Jewish farmer.

Jewish National Fund land may not be sold. It is therefore allotted on hereditary lease for a term of 49 years, at a small rental; at the expiration of the term, the lease is renewable by the lessee or his heirs. A lease may be transferred; it may be used as security for credit. Improvements on the land made by the lessee become his property. He enjoys stability of tenure and all the rights of possession, except that he cannot sell the land, rent it to others, hire non-Jews to work it, or neglect it.

Theoretically J. N. F. land may be leased to any Jew in Palestine able and qualified to work it. In practice prospective settlers band together in groups, generally under the auspices of the Jewish Labor Federation or other organization, to take over an area for an *Irgun, Kvutzah,* or *Moshav.* These groups are usually financed in part or in whole by the Agricultural Settlement Department of the Jewish Agency. Those who can entirely finance themselves may apply for land directly to the J. N. F. Neither land nor funds are at present adequate to the demands made upon them. The lessees now on J. N. F. land are drawn from all ranks and countries, independent of party, outlook or upbringing. Naturally the younger Halutz type predominates.

The J. N. F. acquires sites also for public enterprises such as schools, synagogues, clinics and hospitals, community houses, etc. On the outskirts of the larger towns, land has been bought for the building of suburban quarters for workmen, artisans, and professional people on the usual leasehold terms.

The J. N. F. gives access to the land to those willing to work it, but who have no means to buy it, a service paralleled only by State grants in newly opened territories or in settled lands, by grants to ex-soldiers. Land, which is the fundamental means of production, should be denied to none able and willing to work it. By redeeming unused, partly and poorly used land, and placing it

under intensive cultivation, the J. N. F. performs a social service. By bringing the landless Jewish worker into contact with his ancestral soil, it performs a national service.

Land in Palestine has become very expensive, for in spite of its poor condition, Jewish demand has enhanced its market value. Therefore even settlers with some means find an advantage in leasing instead of buying it, thus saving their small capital for building a house or equipping their farm.

The possession of large areas by a public body acts as a brake upon the rise of rents due to congestion, for if land is available on easy leasehold terms from the J. N. F., landseekers will not pay private landlords an inflated rent. Because J. N. F. land may not be sold and is controlled by a public authority, it is not subject to speculation, the worst feature of modern business. It will yield only that value extracted from it by labor, for it cannot be bought for "hold-up" purposes.

Lessees are allotted equitable holdings, the size of which is determined by the area a single family or group can profitably cultivate by self-labor. J. N. F. tenants must work their own land as well as live upon it. J. N. F. ownership guarantees the Jewishness of the land for all time, not only Jewish in title, belonging to the whole people, but Jewish in exploitation. To be renationalized, replanted in their land, the Jews must work the soil themselves. So the J. N. F. safeguards Jewish land for Jewish labor. This restriction does not operate on private Jewish estates, on which many Arabs are employed because of their low wage standard. It is the more necessary, therefore, that certain lands should be reserved for Jewish agricultural laborers.

"A distinction should be drawn between colonial policy and colonization policy," writes Dr. A. Granovsky, an expert on Palestine land questions. The former exploits cheap native labor, the latter develops self-labor. The demand for Jewish labor in Jewish enterprises is a logical deduction from the Mandate, as well as an economic necessity. "It is a just demand, too, whereby nothing is to be taken away from others, since it relates to that which the Jews are building up with their own powers and with their own means. . . . Since the Government makes no provision for placing the immigrants in productive occupations, the Jews must themselves open up new opportunities of employment for them and so enlarge the absorptive capacity of the country. . . . Jewish im-

migration . . . has been responsible for a considerable increase in the tax revenues, which has enabled the Government to carry out extensive public works on which Arabs are employed almost exclusively."

### OTHER LAND AGENCIES

In the eighteen-eighties, Baron Edmond de Rothschild came to the help of the struggling Jewish pioneer farmers in Palestine and directed the Jewish Colonization Association (I. C. A.) to finance them. Later the Palestine activities of the I. C. A. were vested in a separate corporation, the Palestine Jewish Colonization Association (P. I. C. A.). This body bought large stretches of land, principally in Galilee and Samaria, and even Transjordan, for sale to settlers on long favorable terms. It has also undertaken drainage and plantation works. It is the largest single Jewish owner of land. Until settlers have repaid the cost of the land, and often loans for improvements as well, they are subject to some restrictions similar to those of the J. N. F. lease, self-labor, for example. No reservation is made, however, in regard to hired labor, once the debts are paid, and the size of holdings vary according to the wealth of the individual. The P. I. C. A. villages in the citrus zone are prospering; those raising cereals still need aid. Most of its land was bought before the War. P. I. C. A. has also participated largely in Palestine industries, such as the Ruttenberg Electric Works, Nesher, Palestine Potash Co., etc. Like the J. N. F., it seeks no profits, but, unlike it, is a closed corporation not supported by the public.

The Palestine Land Development Company was founded in 1912 to serve as a semi-official land selling agency to Jews for whom the J. N. F. was not in a position to provide suitable land. It is run on commercial lines. Though originally intended to develop as well as buy land, its activity is confined to the latter. It acts as agent for most of the purchases of the J. N. F. and for many individuals and companies. It has furthered transfers of land in rural and also urban districts. Its shares are held by the principal Zionist financial bodies.

The Zion Commonwealth is an incorporated American company, formed in 1914 to buy land and establish settlements in Palestine on the basis of private property. Its principal acquisitions were in the Emek Israel and, with the Haifa Bay Develop-

ment Co., in the Acre Plain. Most of this land, however, has been transferred to the J. N. F. Herzlia is a growing Zion Commonwealth settlement and Balfouria was also established by it.

During the past fifty years, societies called *Ahoozahs* have been formed in various countries to buy land for their own members or for members' relatives. Often members pay the necessary sums over a certain period of time, but do not complete payments. Therefore the purchase of land predicated upon future payments, which did not materialize, prevented the Ahoozah from taking title to land under negotiation. A number of these *Ahoozahs* have prospered, such as at Ra-ananah, an American Society, and at Karkur, an English Society.

Many Jews, singly or in small groups, have bought and still buy land in towns and villages as an investment or for personal settlement. Some purchasers who bought for sentimental reasons and did not utilize the land have turned it over to the J. N. F. Many American groups and private corporations have recently bought land for orange groves, some for investment only, others with a view to settling there.

One such group (Gan Hadar near Rehoboth) has not only set aside a section for its own houses, but in conjunction with the J. N. F. has provided 300 dunams of land for a *Kvutzah* whose members are to be permanently employed to work in the groves.

The Tel Aviv Municipality started a land purchasing scheme for artisans and others in order to stop the inflation of rents during the boom period of 1925. Most of the land, however (the Northern Quarter), has since been acquired by the J. N. F.

Thus it will be seen that although the spirit of the Jewish National Fund and of the Zionist Movement generally favors the principle of land nationalization, with its social and economic implications, yet it is by no means averse to private ownership. Indeed, three-fourths of the acreage owned by Jews in Palestine is privately owned. Since the resources of the Jewish National Fund are limited, its leaders feel that it is preferable to encourage private enterprise to acquire as much land as possible rather than to allow land to remain unredeemed.

From time to time criticisms or misgivings have been voiced that the Jewish National Fund has neglected urban areas. The argument is made that since the bulk of Jewish immigration goes to the cities, more Jews would be served by purchases in the city

areas than by further acquisitions in the rural districts. Moreover, purchases of urban land would be a much more effective curb on unscrupulous speculation in city lots which has done so much harm in Tel Aviv and the other cities. On the other hand, city suburban land is much more costly than agricultural land and the Jewish National Fund with its limited resources has concentrated upon agriculture, and moreover, recognizes that our future in Palestine is not secure without a thriving peasantry to buy the products of the urban areas.

### LAND LAWS

Palestine under the Turks was a Moslem country and its law was under the influence of Islam. Although civil British rule, from 1920 onwards, has introduced certain reforms by means of ordinances, the bulk of land law remains Ottoman. The main categories of land are *Mulk*—equivalent to English freehold; *Miri*—nominally state-owned, but of which the usufruct belongs to the possessor; *Wakf*—belonging to Religious Endowments; *Metruqué*—land in communal possession; *Mewat*—barren or waste lands, not owned by anyone; *Mahlul*—land reverting to the State if uncultivated for three years. Land is held either in *Musha* (undivided) or *Mafruz* (divided) ownership. Most land is the former, which is one of the chief drawbacks to the development of modern agriculture. Owners possess a fraction or share of an estate, not a specific parcel and plot. Most land is also *Miri*, which is subject to restrictions such as that it may not be assigned by will. *Mulk* is city land.

Transfers of land are legal only if signed at the *Tabu* (Registry Office) which confers upon the owner a *Kushan* (Title Deed). No transfer is legal for which a *Kushan* is not issued. The *Kushan* may be *Musha* or *Mafruz*. In Turkish times false entries were often made to escape taxation. Land was also transferred to nominal owners if the buyers were not Ottoman, since non-Ottomans were forbidden to own land. A Cadastral Survey is now in progress, to be followed by a Land Settlement which defines exact boundaries and titles. Its most important result will be the breaking up of *Musha* estates so that each owner will have his own piece of land. A reform of present land taxation will no doubt follow. The antiquated tithe is a tax of 10% of the soil's produce, though

now commuted to a fixed figure, the average of four years' yield. The Werko Tax is 1 per 1,000 of the value of rural land. It has been abolished in towns in favor of an Urban Property Tax similar to the English one. In addition there is a Registration Fee of 3% whenever land changes hands.

The Mandate for Palestine provides that State lands not needed for public purposes shall be allocated for close Jewish settlement. This instruction has not been given effect. Certain pre-War concessions (Kabbara swamp drainage and Rishon Lezion sand dunes) have been confirmed and some small areas leased to Jews, but the Jewish Agency has received no tracts for close settlement. The authorities contend that pending the land survey the extent and boundaries of State lands are unknown, but this did not prevent the sale on nominal terms to Arab cultivators of the valuable, because irrigable, State Beisan lands of over half a million dunams. That such land, suitable for close settlement, was transferred to non-Jews who are unable to develop it, was an act against the public interest. This is indicated in Sir John Hope Simpson's Report on Land and Irrigation. At present the surplus land in this area is being sold to Jews at three times its cost to the owners. The Jews claim that in the Jordan Valley and elsewhere State lands are available and the subject is repeatedly brought before the Mandates' Commission. The Huleh drainage and irrigation concession in upper Galilee, a large area which could be utilized for close settlement, is in the hands of a non-Jew who has failed to execute it.

### AREA

Palestine, West of the Jordan, comprises about 26,000,000 metric dunams or 10,000 square miles. Exact figures will be available only on completion of the Cadastral Survey. Palestine East of the Jordan comprises 40,000,000 metric dunams. Western Palestine is divided into Sub-District of Beersheba and Negev (roughly 12,000,000 metric dunams), Hill Country (roughly 8,000,000 metric dunams), and the Five Plains. It is estimated that in the Hill Country about 33⅓% is cultivable, in the Plains 75%, and in Beersheba District a little more than 13%.

Sir John Hope Simpson has challenged these figures of the Director of Lands, as a result of an aerial survey of only a tenth of the hill country, which gave him a greater proportion of un-

cultivable land in this area. Simpson's criticism, however, is known to have been hurriedly made and Great Britain's representative at the League of Nations' Mandates Commission declared that it would not be taken as a basis for the proposed Development Scheme of Palestine. Even the estimate of the Director of Lands that one-third of the land is cultivable, is based on a definition which excludes marshes, coastal sand dunes, rocky hills, and large areas of the Beersheba District. Already Jewish enterprise has converted similar territory into cultivable land by draining marshes, terracing hills, and irrigating sandy soil. The conception of "cultivable" must take into account modern tools and the efficiency and enthusiasm of the Jews.

## "LANDLESS ARABS"

Jews have been accused, as a consequence of their land acquisitions, of depriving large numbers of Arabs of their land holdings and thus impoverishing them. Land is bought in Palestine from large owners, who lease part of their tracts to tenants on short term leases, and from villagers who have superfluous land in common ownership. The J.N.F. has purchased 88.5% of its lands from the former. Such land was previously poorly and only partly worked. For example, of 261,388 dunams, 688 families cultivated 140,650 dunams. These Arabs received from the J.N.F. LP. 27,434 in compensation, each obtaining a sum proportionate to his holding. On the whole a family would receive about LP. 40, which is the sum of total investment in a *fellah* farm and is nearly two-thirds of the sum which Sir John Hope Simpson reckons is necessary to establish a *fellah* on the land. Hence it is not surprising that the majority of the former annual tenants on land bought by the J.N.F. remained in agriculture and even in the same (Northern) District. Some acquired land of their own. This custom of compensating tenants who were on property bought was introduced by the Jews themselves, the Turkish law having afforded no protection to such tenants.

In some cases the J.N.F. has set aside land of its own for the use of these Arab tenants for varying periods. The P.I.C.A. has similarly leased tracts to Arabs. Of 415,307 dunams purchased by P.I.C.A., 69% was bought from absentee landlords. In the vicinity of its settled lands, as compared with remoter villages, a marked

improvement can be noted in the condition of the neighboring Arabs, who sold part of their land and with the purchase money have developed the rest.

It must also be remembered that land purchased by Jews is more intensively settled, as shown in the following table:

| No. | Locality | Previous Number of Inhabitants | Area per Inhabitant in Metric Dunams | Present Number of Inhabitants | Area per Inhabitant in Metric Dunams |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Zichron Jacob | 219 | 72 | 1,406 | 11 |
| 2. | Rehoboth . . . | 173 | 61 | 3,559 | 11 |
| 3. | Nahalal Block . . . | 173 | 126 | 494 | 44 |
| 4. | Nuris Block . | 224 | 131 | 1,252 | 23 |
| 5. | Ginegar-Rub-el Nasra and Tel Adas Block | 322 | 31 | 980 | 10 |
| 6. | Herzlia | 162 | 109 | 620 | 23 |
| 7. | Abu Shusha | 63 | 84 | 124 | 43 |

Both large and small holders sold their surplus land. They received high prices and were able in consequence to improve their economic position by investing in their remaining land. Temporary tenants received compensation *ex gratio* and thereby bettered their condition or certainly were no worse off than under the oppression and exploitation of their former landlords.

### JEWISH LAND

Of the land of Palestine west of the Jordan, 1,025,000 metric dunams, or about 6.6%, are in Jewish ownership. Of this area 295,000 metric dunams are owned by the Jewish National Fund, 374,000 dunams are owned by the P.I.C.A., and the rest by other organizations and by private individuals.

Though 20% of the population, the Jews own less than 7% of the area of the country. Jewish land is concentrated, however, in those districts which are the most fertile and capable of development: the Emek, 227,000 dunams; the Shefela and Sharon, 410,000 dunams; Haifa-Acre Bay, 75,000 dunams; Jordan Valley, 30,000 dunams; Galilee, 26,000 dunams. Of the more profitable plantations, Jews own 114,000 dunams, of which 58,000 dunams are under orange cultivation; 26,000, grapes; 21,000, olives; 6,000,

orchards; 3,000, bananas. The rest of the land is given over to mixed farming, which helps the farmer's income with home products, principally in the Emek on J.N.F. land, and to grain farming principally on P.I.C.A. land, in Galilee, which gives but a poor living. This land, much of it formerly malignant swamp or waterless waste, has been made profitable by Jewish labor.

The close, compelling bond between a man and his land, between a people and its land, is nowhere more poignantly clear than in Palestine. The redemption of the land is the redemption of the people.

# JEWISH COLONIZATION BEFORE 1917

JESSIE SAMPTER

It is said that in 1800 there were about 3,000 Jews in Palestine. In 1915 there were about 80,000, most of whom had come during the latter part of the nineteenth and the early part of the twentieth centuries. The present Jewish population is about 180,000, of whom approximately 115,000 live in three cities, Jerusalem, Haifa, and Tel Aviv; 28,000 in other cities; and about 37,000 in the agricultural settlements.

The old *Yishub* consisted chiefly of Jews who had come to the four "holy" cities, Jerusalem, Hebron, Tiberias and Safed. The new *Yishub* is found principally in the agricultural colonies, villages and individual farms scattered in a long irregular line from Metulla in the North to Ruhama in the South. Both the old and the new settlers were Sefardim and Ashkenazim, Jews of Oriental extraction and immigrants from the Jewish quarters of Europe and latterly also of America.

Although there had always been Jews in Palestine, the term "colonization" refers only to the immigration of the past two generations. Many were the factors in the re-settlement. Many men in many lands were its advocates. Modern anti-semitism furnished powerful reasons for it, and the prayers in thousands of synagogues expressed emotionally the desire of the Jew to be at home on his own soil.

The Jews who had "always been in Palestine" were a mere handful. The community of rural Jews at Pekiin, Arabs in all but religion, were about the only survivors of the most ancient stratum. The expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492 sent many to Palestine, but merely to settle in the cities where they were supported for the most part by the charity of their co-religionists abroad. The rise of nationalism following the Napoleonic era gave impetus to the idea of Jewish resettlement and it was strengthened by the constant outbreak of Jew-hatred and violence.

In the nineteenth century, resettlement had many advocates.

Among the Gentiles may be named Warder Cresson, American consul at Jerusalem, a convert to Judaism; George Eliot; Lawrence Oliphant; and Benedetto Mussolino, almost a namesake of the great modern figure in Italy. Among the Jews the leading advocates were Mordecai M. Noah, New York State politician; Moritz Steinschneider, greatest of bibliographers; Samuel David Luzatto, distinguished in the rabbinate; Joseph Salvador and Hirsch Graetz, historians; Sir Moses Montefiore and Isaac Adolphe Cremieux, statesmen.

Best known in Jewish circles and most effective in their propaganda were several men who flourished in the Sixties and Seventies. In 1856 Ludwig August Fränkl founded the Laemel school, which began the work of education in the land. The Alliance Israelite Universelle, founded in 1860, was at first sympathetic to colonial settlement. Moses Hess and Rabbi Hirsch Kalischer published books in 1862, and it was Kalischer who prompted Charles Netter of the Alliance to establish the agricultural school near Jaffa in 1871. Among the leaders were publicists like David Gordon (in Ha-Maggid); Perez Smolenskin (in Ha-Shahar); the scholarly physician Leo Pinsker who called the international conference of Hibbat Zion; his disciple Moses Lilienblum, a most prolific writer; and Rabbi Samuel Mohilewer, who inspired Baron Edmond de Rothschild and was one of the founders of Rehoboth. As early as 1879 Eliezer ben Yehudah was writing in Ha-Shahar and it is to him that Hebrew owes its renascence as a living language.

In 1878 a group of Austro-Hungarian Jews left Jerusalem and founded the colony Petah Tikwa near Jaffa. Inexperienced and uninformed, they settled in a swampy region and were killed off or driven out by malaria. At about this time a group of young Jewish students from Russia, who called themselves the Bilu, came to the land. Their name was taken from a line in Isaiah "Beth Israel lechu venelchu," which may be freely translated, "House of Jacob, come, let's go." Everything was against the settlers. They knew nothing of farming or of the chemistry of the soil, they had no money, they found no water, roads or police protection. On the one hand they were harassed by excessive taxation by the Turkish government, and on the other, by the hostility of the Arab population and the frequent incursions of the Bedouin. Notwithstanding all these handicaps the Jewish agricultural popu-

lation gradually increased. They were largely financed by contributions from abroad, especially by the munificence of Baron Edmond de Rothschild. When, in the Nineties, the stimulating influence and constructive criticism of Ahad Ha-am and the establishment of the Jewish Colonization Association (ICA) made for better things, the colonists were prepared for emergence into the "New Palestine."

To go back to earlier days, the idea of colonization was greatly stimulated in 1882, the period of reaction in Russia, and the beginning of mass emigration to the West. It was then that Pinsker published his great work "Auto-emancipation." It was then that Ben Yehudah went to Palestine to begin the revival of Hebrew and Baron de Rothschild became the Maecenas of the struggling pioneers. In 1882, four colonies were started under the patronage of the Baron, Rishon Lezion, Nes Ziona, Zichron Jacob and Rosh Pinna, the first two near the agricultural school Mikwe Israel, the third in the plain of Sharon near ancient Caesarea, and the fourth in Galilee near Safed. The Baron also reestablished Petah Tikwa. At the suggestion of Charles Netter he imported hundreds of thousands of eucalyptus trees from Australia to be planted in the malarial districts and ultimately on the denuded hillsides. He built the monumental wine cellars of Rishon Lezion and through his agents administered the affairs of these and later colonies. In 1884 the Hibbat Zion movement was organized at Kattowitz by the representatives of more than fifty societies to combine their efforts to help the colonists. This organization, afterwards known as the Hoveve Zion, merged into the Zionist Organization in 1902.

In 1882, persecuted Jews from Yemen in Southern Arabia arrived and soon adjusted themselves to their new life. They were hardy laborers and with their fellows, who came after them, formed an important element in the new settlements. New colonies were now established, Yessud Hamaalah at Lake Meron in 1883; Maskeret Batya, named in memory of the Baron's mother, at Ekron in 1884; Gedera founded by the Bilu in 1885. A group from Warsaw founded Rehoboth in 1890 and it became one of the outstanding successes of the older colonial group. Up to 1900, a number of colonies were established under the old system, dependent for assistance on outside help. This state of affairs had been freely criticised and the Baron was not unaware of the defects in the system to which he had devoted much thought and money. After

Ahad Ha-am had visited Palestine for the third time, he published a drastic criticism of the methods under which the representatives of the Baron were administering affairs and he recommended the introduction of diversified agriculture and the abolition of subsidies from the patron of the colonies. The Baron, after fifteen years of discouragement, turned over all his interest in the colonies, together with a large sum of money, to the Jewish Colonization Association of the Baron Maurice de Hirsch. This was the beginning of a profound change in colonization and its management.

In 1897, the First Zionist Congress had been held, Theodor Herzl presiding. Under its auspices there were soon established the Jewish Colonial Trust (1899); the Jewish National Fund (1901); the Anglo-Palestine Company, a subsidiary of the Jewish Colonial Trust (1902); and the Palestine Land Development Company (1908). With these institutions and others organized by the colonists themselves, an entirely new aspect was given to colonial affairs. A new type of colony now emerged, largely due to Dr. Franz Oppenheimer, whose plan for cooperative colonies was approved in 1911 by the Turkish government and by the Zionist Congress, and Merhabia was founded, the first colony under the Oppenheimer plan. For the next ten years, these two types existed, the first based on the individualistic or capitalistic plan of ownership, the second on the Oppenheimer plan of cooperation. Then in 1921 came a third type, the Moshav Ovdim, a compromise between the two older forms, an individualistic cooperative settlement in which the worker is the owner of the land, but is not permitted to exploit his labor. Finally in 1931 came a fourth type, a modification of the third. These were workers' settlements in which the worker is employed in the neighboring plantation, cultivates his own ground in his spare time and finances it from his own earnings. This type is possible only on lands of the Jewish National Fund.

The older settlements, the Moshavoth, established under patronage, remain conservative, the later ones especially those established in the Emek, the Moshavoth Ovdim and the Kvuzoth, consist largely of young people interested in and anxious to participate in social experiments. Thus we find today in the colonies a laboratory of social and economic experiment in which various theories of association are being tried out by the different groups under their own communal organizations.

Even under the Turkish government the Jewish settlements enjoyed local autonomy. Government under the Turks meant collecting taxes. In all other respects the communities were left to their own resources. They had to govern themselves, find water, build roads and exercise other communal powers with practically no interference except that all of their efforts at such improvement were attended by additional demand for taxes and graft by a corrupt officialdom. In the earlier days Jewish labor was limited by numbers and inexperience, and Arabs were hired to do most of the work. Latterly, the gradual improvement in farming and irrigation and the use of modern machinery has made it possible for a Jewish farming population to be developed.

During the war there was an end to all progress and the labors of an entire generation were destroyed. Ruthless expropriation for military purposes, economic oppression and political persecution, wholesale expatriation, plagues and locusts, almost ended the career of the colonies, but the structural foundations survived and with the success of the British arms and the establishment of the Weizmann Commission in 1918, new life commenced. Today there exists a normal, wholesome life based upon cultivation of the soil, guided by intelligent experts in the physical sciences, in medicine, in social service, and in economic adjustment, and strengthened by the establishment of educational institutions at the apex of which is the Hebrew University.

A study of the past twenty years in Palestine shows the gradual integration of the life of the colonies through the creation of organizations of a national character. Through them the colonies have learned to look toward unity, notwithstanding their disparate theories of social and economic life. The individualism of the older colonies and the socialism of the later ones tend to merge in a higher synthesis in which mutual aid will become the accepted basis of the greater community which is now in process of formation.

# GROWTH OF THE VILLAGES

BY JESSIE SAMPTER

## GROWTH WITHOUT DIRECTION

The motives which called the first Jewish settlers to the land in Palestine were simple compared to those moving the present generation. Consequently their lives were less planned. Without previous preparation of the land or of themselves, they stepped into this ancient wilderness and did their best with the tasks which came to their hands. They did not know how to work, nor was it possible to work their large holdings by themselves. Each man owned his house and lot, his vineyard or orchard, and though they helped one another, cooperation was as haphazard as other growth. Inevitably they employed the *fellah* from the neighboring Arab village to do the actual work and to teach them the ways of the land. Times were always hard. As the plantations developed and debts were slowly paid off, the planter became constantly more concerned for his own family, for his individual welfare, and in the struggle for existence, he often lost sight of the welfare of Jewish Palestine or even the interests of his own village. After the war, the growth of some of these villages was very rapid, notably those in Judea, in the orange zone, and with the balance of power in the hands of the old individualistic farmers who controlled the Village Committee, all communal progress had to be fought out on the basis of personal economic interest.

Petah Tikwa, the oldest Jewish village, is today also the largest, with about 8,200 inhabitants. Zichron-Jacob has about 1,400; Hedera, 1,600; Rishon Lezion, 2,500; Rehoboth, 3,500. In Galilee, for physical and economic reasons, the individualist villages have scarcely developed. New villages of this type, notably Herzlia, have grown up since the war, but because of more foresight through experience and of less economic pressure, Jewish labor and communal interests have fared better. In Herzlia and other villages settled by the Zion Commonwealth of America, communal inter-

est has since the first been safeguarded in a measure by certain terms of the constitution. Each of these villages is different in details, but fundamentally they are alike. Rehoboth in Judea, south of Tel Aviv, may be chosen to represent the growth of all.

### DEVELOPMENT SINCE THE WAR

In 1918, Rehoboth had about 1,000 inhabitants; now it has about 3,500. Its area has expanded in proportion. A carriage drive of several hours, over a sandy road full of ruts, brought the traveler of those days to Jaffa, the only outlet to the world. Now the main railroad from Kantara, Egypt, passes just to the north of Rehoboth, and twice a day trains stop at the neat little station, and the busses of the Jewish Cooperative Autobus Service run every half hour during fourteen hours of the day, between Rehoboth and Tel Aviv, passing Nes Ziona, Rishon Lezion and Mikwe Israel. The road is good and the trip takes only about three-quarters of an hour. Water has always been comparatively plentiful in this village since the first well was dug forty years ago. But bathtubs and sufficient faucets in every house are post-war improvements and at times there is still difficulty with sudden stoppage of water incident to improving the water-works and opening new pipes into new streets. Within the village, the streets are still only of sand and are very rough, although gradually they are being graded and bordered with a sidewalk space, while one short business street has already been provided with a smooth sidewalk. Rehoboth has its own wine cellar to supplement that of Rishon Lezion, the neighboring village, and during the vintage, its presses are kept throbbing. Now, however, the newer plantations are of oranges, rather than grapes, as these have become the economic basis of existence.

From the first there was a local society for visiting the sick, whose members took turns doing the actual nursing. This society still exists but its members now content themselves with paying dues to help needy persons in illness. There is no hospital because the proximity of Tel Aviv makes it unnecessary, but there are several private physicians as well as the official village doctor. The Kupat Holim has a physician, nurse and clinic; and Hadassah maintains a clinic in the Yemenite quarter, Sha-araim, served by the village physician, a nurse-midwife and an eye nurse, and also

two Infant Welfare Stations, one in Sha-araim and one in the village proper. The local branch of the *Histadruth Nashim Ibriot* cooperates largely in the support and work of the infant welfare stations and is about to start a day nursery for the babies of working mothers. A crude charity organization takes partial care of family distress but the peregrinating beggar still makes his rounds and benevolent ladies collecting from the bountiful for a nameless "case," have not yet been relieved of their task. The old shelter for strangers is now better housed. The free loan association, *Gemillat Hassadim,* is as necessary and active as ever. Social services have greatly improved but the old settlers deplore a corresponding decline in the spirit of social service. "In those days," before and during the war, there was a social solidarity, an intimacy and friendliness that have departed, so they say. To the casual observer the mutual interest and helpfulness are still apparent. Lending and borrowing on security that is none too secure continues, and the readiness of each to put himself out for a service to the other is taken for granted. The mutual loan society of former days has developed into a cooperative bank, *Kupat Milveh Vehesachon,* and the workers also have a cooperative credit society. The solid and impressive old building of the *Beth Ha-am* (People's House) served originally for lectures and meetings whose audiences sat on backless benches, has now developed into a full-fledged theater where the "talkie" makes itself heard twice a week, although meetings and lectures are still held there.

The greatest change has been the increase of Jewish laborers. From the first there were some Jewish workmen in Rehoboth, and because of the independence and relative prosperity of the first settlers, these workmen were more or less encouraged. Now they have increased to a thousand or more, and the Yemenite workers have also doubled their numbers.

### LABOR

One of the lines of advance of the *Halutz* has been to "capture" labor in the villages. The land work had been done almost wholly by Arabs from the neighboring villages, especially during the harvesting when they came en masse. Yemenite Jews were employed from the beginning, but they were exploited, receiving at first little more pay than the Arabs and less than the Ashkenazic

Jews. Several unsuccessful attempts were made at that time to introduce more Jewish laborers. In 1925-26, during the crisis, the Labor Organization sent groups of new immigrants to the villages as day laborers. In Rehoboth, a group of about sixty, calling themselves *Haburat Hadarom* (southern group), set up their tents and kitchen shack on a piece of land provided by the Village Committee. Many of these boys and girls found work on the road which was then being constructed to Tel Aviv; others succeeded in getting work with farmers in the groves and vineyards. Standards of wages were lowered for a time, so as to compete with the Arabs, but later they rose again. The Working Youth Organization soon sent another group of about twenty boys and girls, ranging from fourteen to eighteen years old and who were without work. They were given tents in the shady grounds of the *Beth Ha-am*, but suffered much hardship for lack of proper clothing and food. Other *Kvutzoth* came and tents sprouted here and there among the village gardens. There was much hardship. But also much endurance. On Friday nights the streets and hilltops rang with Hebrew songs and the dancing of the *Hora* relieved troubled hearts. The farmers began gradually to employ more Jews, and as new orange groves were planted, this caused not so much the discharging of the Arabs as increasing the Jewish proportion. Large stretches of plantation land to the south of Rehoboth belonged in part to the Jewish National Fund and here four *Kvutzoth*, numbering several hundred members, have settled who make their living in part from their own plantations and in part from day labor in the village. The *Kvutzah* of the Working Youth now has constant work assured in orange plantations financed by a group of New York Jews.

"Independents," as they are called, young people, usually couples, who live in barracks or rented rooms and work as day laborers in agriculture and the building trades, are scattered through the village and the Yemenite Quarter. Workingmen's Quarters are gradually being built by them through loans on easy terms. The natural increase is large. The struggle for a living is terrible, as wages in agriculture average $1.00 a day and in building from $1.50 to $2.00, while the cost of living is about the same as in American villages.

However, by extra work, by saving and by loans received from individuals or organizations, a number of these laborers have

acquired small orange groves of their own. When these have come to bearing, their owners can become independent, paying off their indebtedness and after that, working for themselves. Others have acquired a house with a garden for raising vegetables and a place for a cow or poultry. These do not yet see their way clear to freedom from wage labor. Still others have joined cooperative settlement societies, with the prospect of being settled in independent free-holders' villages, *Moshavim,* in the vicinity. Every agricultural worker in Palestine looks forward to independent settlement. Wage-labor is only a preparation. And many of those working in Rehoboth have come to look upon it as their home and to think of taking root in or near it as settlers.

Labor is strongly organized and loyal, and the labor exchange provides for rotation of employment during the slack season, giving preference to married men. Many, however, now have permanent work. Girls working at orange culture still are paid less than men, receiving only 75 cents a day, even though equally capable. The struggle for better conditions is bitter, though it seldom leads to strikes. The fight is not carried on individually, but with the Farmers' Union. Prolonged periods of unemployment lead both to suffering and heroism.

Labor is active in village affairs. After a long fight, it has its representatives on the Village Committee and much influence. Its new building will be paid for partly by contributions from the farmers, and will house all its institutions. *T'nuva,* the marketing cooperative of the Labor Organization, has a successful branch dairy there. Sport, culture and health services of the Labor Organization have active branches.

### THE YEMENITES

The Jews from Yemen in southern Arabia, who claim to antedate the native Arabs and to have migrated there from Palestine in or about the first exile, have suffered cruel persecution there in recent generations. Since they were first encouraged to come to Palestine as laborers, they have steadily increased in numbers, until now there are about 9,000 of them. About 800 live in Sha-araim, the southern end of Rehoboth, on land gradually acquired from the village. The community plots belong to the Jewish National Fund. Their wooden and tin huts are slowly being replaced by

small concrete houses, in which they rent room to *Halutzim* as a help in paying off the debts incurred in building them. Their standard of life is very low. Education is given only to boys, whose only study is the Bible and its commentaries. Books being scarce, boys are taught to read from all angles so that they can sit around a table with a single volume on it. They are superstitious and altogether medieval in their outlook. In appearance and dress, they resemble Arabs except for their earlocks and some indefinable Jewish quality. The older women have brought with them an Arab-Jewish jargon; the younger women and all the men speak a Hebrew of great beauty and correctness, the true oriental tongue. They observe ritual closely. They are industrious, thrifty and gentle in manner, though violent when excited. They have not yet developed public spirit and their attitude toward women and children is a possessive one. Girls are sent to do housework in the village homes when they are but eight or nine years old. They used to be married by contract at eleven or twelve, but now marriages under sixteen are rare. Polygamy, permitted by their customs, is also gradually disappearing under the pressure of social environment. Women, many of whom work as scrubwomen, washerwomen or in the fields, give all their wages to their husbands.

Their Quarter is practically autonomous, with its own Committee and its own water works. Most of them have patches of cultivated land and some domestic animals. When new immigrants arrive and are thrust upon them, they take care of them. They also look after their own poor, but very inadequately. The village does little for them; there is mutual suspicion and prejudice as well as misunderstanding and separateness. Recent proposals for amalgamation with the village proper were rebuffed by the Yemenites as offering them no advantage, as they believed the advantages to be received would be overbalanced by the taxes involved.

Social services are supplied by outside organizations and received often with suspicion, pride and reserved cooperation, yet with a disinclination to pay for benefits received. They have not yet a synagogue building, *minyons* assembling in homes. The *Talmud Torah* for boys is housed in a good building erected by individual contributions, and an Ashkenazik teacher from the Zionist Bureau of Education supplements with general subjects the Bible drill of the Yemenite *Hacham*. There is also a model nursery-school founded by Dr. Maya Rosenberg and supported by a private

organization, which cares for forty children from three to five years of age. These children are kept in the school from seven in the morning until six in the evening. An evening school, formerly supported by the Culture Committee of the Labor Organization and now by private individuals in America, provides the only education received by the little girls who work. The same Culture Committee also organized older working youth in a club which provides lectures and classes. The Yemenites are skillful craftsmen, silversmiths and embroiderers and the women make beautiful basketwork in colorful designs.

It is important that Yemenite youth should finally be assimilated with the rest of Jewish youth, although this must be effected without losing their distinctive values or respect for their own traditions. Some fathers have been persuaded to allow their little daughters to attend the Rehoboth village school and a few of these have continued for several years. The Labor Organization is a unifying force. Some girls who graduated from the evening school have escaped housework and educated themselves for other callings, and several have gone to *Kvutzoth.* These signs of progress arouse the suspicion and opposition of the parents who then interfere with the educational work.

### THE PLANTERS

These, together with shopkeepers and the professional and business men with their families, almost equal in numbers the Ashkenazic workmen and the Yemenites with their families. Many of these are the old settlers whose grandchildren now attend the school. On the whole, their outlook is that of provincial Europe. With an uncertain economic future, they educated their children for life in the cities. These usually either left Palestine or drifted into professions in the towns, while only one or two of a large family might remain to take over the plantation. Like their fathers, these understood and shared in the work, but in an overlord's fashion. The *B'ne Binyamin,* an organization of the sons of "gentlemen farmers," has in recent years counteracted this by encouraging new settlements of native Palestinians. But the social outlook of this second generation was vitiated by contact with a proletariat of oppressed *fellaheen;* now, contact with Jewish labor and the

*Halutzim* is correcting that of the third. The old farmers are conservative in religion and the synagogue tops the hill.

The school, attended by several hundred children, is conducted by the Zionist Bureau of Education, which appoints and pays the teachers, but the Village Committee also contributes through graded school fees, and its management is greatly influenced by the local School Committee. It therefore reflects the outlook of the majority. It resembles in curriculum and activities any fairly good old-fashioned school in a large American village, save for the use of the Hebrew language and the special emphasis on Bible and traditional Jewish subjects. A school garden and a poultry yard are tended by the children but the preparation for life on the land is inadequate, as is the teaching of natural and other sciences.

The Village Committee elected yearly also reflects the majority. Until some years ago, there was a property qualification for voters but through the influence of labor, every man and woman now has an equal vote. The fight between labor and capital, common in our time, is reflected tensely in the village government and school affairs.

### LIFE IN THE VILLAGE

Only Jews live in the village. The Arabs who work in its fields —thousands during the harvest season—go to their own villages at night. There is a market to which they come with their produce in the morning. They used to monopolize it, but now they share it with the Jewish truck farmers. All day they and their women and children, and their camels and donkeys pass to and fro through the village on various businesses. A friendly spirit prevails but little social intercourse, which is not sought by either side. Workers in the field mingle together, and as a matter of social conviction, the Jewish laborer is friendly with the Arab. During the riots of 1920, an attack of incited Arab villagers was repulsed. In the riots of 1929, no attack occurred, partly because of respect for the local self-defense, partly because of respect for economic realities. To the *fellah,* riots mean loot and gain, peace means work and gain. The neighboring Arab villages have been much enriched by selling land to the Jews and using the money to cultivate more intensively the land which was left to them.

Rehoboth is spreading in all directions with attractive villas and gardens. It has a small-town business center one and a half streets

long. Here everyone meets everyone. On Saturday all traffic ceases and Jaffa Road is turned into the fashionable promenade where baby carriages are much in evidence. All the way to the railroad depot, past the new Agricultural Experiment Station, past the new orange packing house, and the new ice factory, everyone is going for a walk, Yemenites, Halutzim, farmers, teachers, shopkeepers, and children. But especially the boys and girls, stretching across the road in groups, talking, greeting, singing. All in their best clothes which are bright and simple. There is not much visiting. During the week, everyone is busy; on the Sabbath, they want to read or to go out. The landscape is lovely, a wide vista to the mountains, another to the sand-dunes bordering the sea. The young people gather on the hill-tops to dance and sing, especially by moonlight. House gatherings are frequent on Friday nights in winter. There are two sport organizations, the *Maccabees* and *Hapoel.* Roughly speaking, the first is for the farmers' sons, the second for the workingmen, but with much interrelationship through tennis, basketball and football matches. There is a choral society, branch of the Palestine Choral Union, which holds singing meets in different villages. There are "movies" and "talkies," lectures and trips to Tel Aviv for some artistic or social event. The *Halutzim* have turned things topsy-turvy and many a farmer is shocked into awareness by having his daughter marry one of his own laborers. Only a few of the girls, influenced by the city life, still rouge their lips and worry over style. Which does not mean that beauty is entirely neglected. They have found a new style in keeping with the newer life. Peasant styles, soft white embroidered frocks and shirts open at the throat have their own grace and charm.

Everyone is hard up, yet everyone is generous. Times are bad, but that is so for everybody. It is true that some live in large houses and some in tents. There are striking differences, class envy, and all the resentments of the older civilizations from which these people came. However, they are happy and the new generation is building toward a finer life.

# LABOR SETTLEMENTS: MOSHAV, KIBBUTZ, KVUTZAH

BY JESSIE SAMPTER, "ESTHER," JOSEPH BARATZ, AND SHMUEL DAYAN

The Jew on his own land, working it; the prophetic ideal of every man under his own vine and his own fig tree, which he himself planted; the social equality and fellowship involved in this ideal; these are the visions and aspirations that turned Jewish youth in many lands into agricultural laborers.

## EMEK ISRAEL—ESDRAELON

The first cooperative group was founded in 1911 by the Jewish National Fund, at Merhabia, at the foot of Mount Moreh in Esdraelon. The same year Degania was founded across the Jordan near Tiberias. Small groups of pioneers went into these empty regions. The *Emek* was barely inhabited. A few thousand Arabs built their mud villages on hills trying to escape the malaria that nevertheless followed them. Fertile fields were interspersed with malignant swamps. In 1920-21, the Jewish National Fund bought large connecting tracts in the *Emek,* and from that time on this section has become the center and the symbol of labor settlement. In the same year, groups of *Halutzim* came to Palestine. Most of these pioneers were boys and girls between eighteen and twenty-five years of age; most of them served their apprenticeship in labor camps building roads for the Government. Later they, as well as the few hundred earlier pioneers, were chosen for settlement on the newly bought *Emek* lands. Usually the members of a group who settled together had come from the same country, and sometimes they had trained together before they came.

Since then land has been bought which makes a continuous stretch from the Bay of Acre on the Mediterranean to the Jordan and the Sea of Kinnereth. There are four main groups of Jewish labor settlements; one near Tiberias grouped about Degania in the Jordan Valley; one, the so-called Nuris group, in the Valley

of Jezreel, grouped about Ein Harod with its historic spring; * one about Merhabia near Nazareth; and one near Haifa grouped about Nahalal not far from the River Kishon.

### SHARON—ORANGE CULTURE

Orange culture, which requires a large investment of capital before it yields returns, and which was worked on a large scale with hired labor, seemed a wall across the path of cooperative self-labor in Palestine. The first *Kvutzah* to try this type of planting was Shiller near Rehoboth whose members had some private capital to invest. In recent years ways have been found, through long-term loans, through mixed farming on part of the land and through part-time hiring out as day laborers, for the small holder to cultivate oranges. Five to seven acres are enough to support a family and can be worked by a family. In the Vale of Sharon, the center of the recent growth of orange culture, a number of settlements are growing up.

### THE JEWISH AGENCY AND OTHER AGENCIES

The Jewish Agency, through its two Funds, the Keren Hayesod (The Foundation Fund) and Keren Kayemeth LeYisrael (Jewish National Fund) buys land, drains swamps, installs water systems, builds houses, provides farm equipment and on occasion also has allowed a stipend for a time in the settlements which it finances either in part or as a whole. These funds are given as a loan gradually repayable, and each settlement is now required to sign a contract with the Jewish Agency. Fifty settlements or groups have been financed by the Jewish Agency, or its predecessor, the Zionist Organization, with over 7,500 inhabitants. This is one-fifth of the Jewish rural population. It includes twenty-two *Kvutzoth,* sixteen *Moshavim,* several of them of *Hassidic* or other orthodox Jews, six training farms for girls, two Agricultural Experiment Stations and several Yemenite settlements. The Yemenites are chiefly settled in workingmen's quarters, and hire themselves out as farmhands. Recently two groups of Yemenites have been settled in *Moshavim* with enough land eventually to become independent.

There are some *Kvutzoth* and *Moshavim* on PICA land, al-

* Judges, Ch. VII.

though its lack of restrictions as to hired labor and Arab labor has encouraged also the growth of the "capitalist" *Moshav* on however poor and small a scale. The same is true of the Zion Commonwealth. When the PICA took Arab labor to drain the vast Kabarra swamps, Jewish labor rose in protest. The PICA explained that it was employing Arabs, accustomed to the place, because it did not want to expose Jewish workmen to malaria. But the Jews still claimed their rights to work there and were hired.

Thousands of young people are waiting to be settled. Hundreds of them have been many years in Palestine, working as day laborers, some having been in and of *Kvutzah;* some having lost health, and strength in the long struggle; are now without possessions or access to the land, which is the only possession they crave. There is not enough Jewish land and above all there are not the means.

### FORMS OF COOPERATION

The social ideal of the *Halutz* has expressed itself in three main forms of settlement, the *Kvutzah,* the *Kibbutz,* and the *Moshav.* In all other settlements, the number of men exceeds that of women. In the *Moshav* each family is an economic unit and labor is not employed except in emergencies. In the *Kvutzah* the future of the individual is not assured. If he leaves, for social or other reasons, he has, as it were, left a family. If he belongs to a *Kibbutz,* which is a group of *Kvutzoth* bound together as a social unit, he still belongs to the unit and he can enter another group.

There are now two *Kibbutzim,* divided by a somewhat different social philosophy. Out of Ein Harod has grown the *Kibbutz Hameuhad* (United); the *Shomer Hatzair* (Young Watchman), Kibbutz Artzi, prides itself on peculiar educational ideals beginning their work in its groups abroad. So long as these two do not unite and join the other *Kvutzoth* to them in a cooperative league, their social ideal cannot be fulfilled. Each group is no more than a large and friendly family, living within its own house without exploitation of any member, but dealing with those outside on the same principle of barter and competition that holds in the world about them. To carry their social experiment to full fruition, the labor groups have still far to go, in mutual cooperation among groups, in privacy for the individual and in the perfection of the

education of their children which already points toward the ideal of brotherhood in work.

To recapitulate and make clear the difference between them:

"A *Kvutzah* is a labor commune in which all the members bear the relation to each other of members of a family. New members are carefully selected and admitted because of their fitness. Each *Kvutzah* is independent of every other, but a loose cooperation exists between them which is tending to become stronger.

"A *Kibbutz* is a collective or system of collectives, made up of a number of communal groups acknowledging joint leadership and practising exchange of members and services. These collectives are open to practically any new individual or group. They are generally larger than *Kvutzoth* and have developed along two lines, those having independent farms and groups in agricultural villages and those in cities working as day-laborers, in factories, in building trades, etc. The rural and urban types of Kibbutzim, each having workers of both varieties overlap. The *Kibbutz* is a social organization of wider scope and discipline than the *Kvutzah.* It has relations with groups of *Halutzim* abroad who train for life in these settlements. These young people come to Palestine knowing Hebrew and with agricultural or other special training, and at once enter a *Kibbutz.* Especially noteworthy is the training of the *Shomer Hatzair,* and this preparation abroad stabilizes the membership in the groups in Palestine. Individual groups of a *Kibbutz* may be designated either by the term *Kibbutz* or *Kvutzah.* However, the definition remains: *Kvutzah,* a self-contained independent group. *Kibbutz,* a group of groups with joint leadership, ideology and exchange of services, unlimited and admitting group discipline for all members. The *Kibbutz Hameuchad* is closely connected with the Labor Party.

"A *Moshav* is a free-holders' village where each family, with its own house and land, is independent. However, a *Moshav* is always cooperative in the following items:

"The Land is national (J.N.F.) and leased on long term hereditary leases; the internal taxes are graded according to earnings; there is cooperative buying and selling; hired labor being prohibited except under special circumstances and conditions, organized mutual assistance in time of need takes its place; cooperative

farming, with joint use of farm machines, has recently taken the form of joint growing of grain. Education is along labor lines."

There follows a study of each type by one of its members.

## THE KVUTZAH

### Degania

BY JOSEPH BARATZ

Soon after I arrived in Palestine, I chanced to be present at the semi-jubilee celebration of the village of Rishon Lezion, and there gazed at old men and women who had laid the foundations of Jewish agricultural settlement in Palestine. Degania had only just been founded and I could not imagine that I and my friends who had helped establish Degania would one day also celebrate the jubilee of our own settlement. That is now no longer unlikely. Twenty-two years have passed. From a small group of twelve men and women, we have grown to a *Kvutzah* of sixty-five adults and forty-six children, and instead of one solitary *Kvutzah* to the east of Jordan, we now have four with a population of three hundred adults and more than one hundred children. Ruttenberg's Electric Station, our neighbor on the other side of Jordan, will soon supply the power that will irrigate thousands of dunams of land.

Great changes have taken place in the agricultural economy of the *Kvutzah*. Extensive farming, the primitive cultivation of the Arab peasants which can employ only twenty workers to an area of 3,000 dunams, has given place to plantations, vegetable-growing and dairy-farming, enabling both Deganias, A and B, with two hundred people, to live on the area previously supporting Degania A alone.

Social changes, too, have taken place. Degania was not, in its early years, entirely communal. We were partners in our labors and the kitchen was common to all, but clothing and other similar items of expense were supplied at each member's private cost. The question of communal education had not arisen as there were as yet no families. The general outlook was gloomy. Though our hopes were high, nothing was clear as to the future. Nevertheless, it was through our endeavors and trials that there grew up those

scores of settlements, large and small, cultivating great areas of land, which now provide a living for thousands of men and women, and which constitute a social factor of first importance in the upbuilding of our country.

The *Kvutzah* of Palestine is not the invention of any genius or visionary, neither does it date from the foundation of Degania 22 years ago. The idea of the *Kvutzah*, the commune, came long before it was established in its present form. Its history is not the history of itself, but of the whole labor movement in Palestine.

The man who came to Palestine 25 years ago, hoping to become a worker on the soil, pictured to himself also an entirely changed way of life. Back of his aspirations was the thought of mutual help; not a "commune" or *Kvutzah* so much as the idea of a brotherly hand extended to comrade. This primitive ideal took on many shapes. Sometimes it was a group of three or four people who ate together, sometimes it took the form of cooperative contracting; now a commune of quarrymen in Jerusalem, now a group of quarrymen cooperative only in so far as work was shared. Thus in diverse ways the simple idea took root, the idea which said, "We have come to Palestine with one purpose. Why then should we not join hand to hand, shoulder to shoulder, to overcome the difficulties?" Thus was the first *Kvutzah* formed.

In the founding of Degania we wanted to prove, first to ourselves and then to others, that the Jew was capable of working on the land and that the Jewish worker was capable of managing a settlement without officials and supervisors. There was to be a new economic basis: an agricultural settlement that would supply all our needs, in contrast to the type of settlement of the Judean villages, which were, and to this day are, based on trading and the exploitation of hired labor.

Such an ideal had grave difficulties to face, both economic and social. Our economic life was threatened by climatic conditions, very different from those in the countries which we had just left; by lack of experience in agriculture; and by want of means. As for our social life, the difficulties here arose from within as the fruit of generations of upbringing; selfishness, individualism, excessive obstinacy, and emotionalism hindered us.

We were hindered also by a peculiar pioneer ideology which troubled us for a long time, even after we were deep into our work. The young men and women who came to Palestine pictured

the country to themselves as a battlefront with perpetual struggles against Bedouin, malaria, epidemics. There was nothing wrong with this as long as actual conditions fitted in with the vision. Everyone felt he was fighting for the land and for the right to work it. But as soon as conditions changed, when frequent attacks ceased, when the land became cleared of stone and rock and the settlement took on a normal appearance, there started a movement to leave that place and build new outposts elsewhere. This restlessness, which has destroyed many *Kvutzoth,* obsessed Degania for some years. People would leave the *Kvutzoth* because they could not rest in one place; new members would come bringing with them new systems of work, and the results were often disastrous. But all this has now changed. The *Kvutzoth* are no longer regarded as temporary stopping-places. The members now wish to root themselves in the place, to live their life there, to bring up their children there, and to make it ready for the next generation.*

Changes have also taken place in the ideological structure, but even now there is a difference between the small *Kvutzah* and the large *Kibbutz.* The *Kvutzah* was founded on more personal relationships. The struggle for existence, plunging a man into daily anxieties, cutting off his connection with the community, would estrange him from the very motive that had brought him to the country. It was desirable, therefore, to create for him a framework within which he could be protected in the struggle for existence, could retain his contact with the community and could find the family life and the family responsibilities that he lacked. This framework was called the *Kvutzah,* we knew that to attain it was neither simple nor easy, that not only were good will and understanding demanded from the members of a *Kvutzah,* but also peculiar personal and cultural qualities which enable a man to adapt himself to his fellow men and to communal life. We therefore found it necessary to limit the number of members. We began in Degania with 12, but year by year the number increased. Economic reasons, too, induced us to start as a small group. We were novices in agriculture, novices in organization. A large settlement requires expert management and permanent and experienced directors and calls for different internal relationships which often interfere with the real spirit of the *Kvutzah.* Instead of one large

* Nevertheless the same difficult conditions still exist in new areas of settlement, especially in the South, *Hadarom,* and some pioneer spirits among the older settlers still offer themselves as leaders for these new groups. Pioneering still continues. Ed.

*Kvutzah,* we preferred several smaller ones near one another and cooperating in those branches of agriculture wherein cooperation is possible, as is the case with Degania A, Degania B, Kinnereth, Kfar-Gun, all of them in the Jordan Valley. This valley is ravishingly beautiful with tropical fertility, but having the ills of the tropics, oppressive heat in summer and still some malarious swamps.

Degania has at present about 60 regular workers, of whom 52 are members of the *Kvutzah* and the others temporary workers who come from various other groups for two or three years in order to specialize in one or another branch of agriculture. Some of our children range from 14 to 18 years old; two are already working in Degania itself. The settlement has expanded considerably and though its character still remains that of a mixed farm, plantations have now assumed importance. Bananas and grapefruit have proved most successful, as have also vegetables, which are sent to all parts of Palestine as well as to Syria. Next in order of importance come dairying, grain growing, and chicken raising, and all the produce is sold through *T'nuva,* the cooperative marketing organization for the workers' settlements.

Adjoining Degania A is Degania B, founded eleven years ago. It has the same number of members and the same type of mixed farming as Degania A. Then comes Kfar-Gun, a smaller *Kvutzah,* the agricultural possibilities of which justify expansion and will doubtless soon enable it to attain to the status of Degania. Near by, on the west side of Jordan, is Kinnereth, a *Kvutzah* founded twenty years ago, which has had to undergo many trials before being able to reach its present excellent condition. These *Kvutzoth* cooperate in many things of which the most important is their joint school, built in 1930 and attended now by 45 children. At the opening ceremony, when hundreds were present from all of Galilee, there was boundless rejoicing, for we saw with our own eyes what the Jewish worker can achieve in this country. Twenty years ago we had not imagined that here in the Jordan Valley, in a tropical climate, surrounded by swamps, Jewish children could grow up. The establishment of this school and the presence of the 150 healthy and happy children in our neighborhood are proof that the ideals we followed and the way of life we chose have given us that for which we aimed from the beginning.

And great are the possibilities of the future.

## THE KIBBUTZ

### Ein Harod and Tel Yosef

BY "ESTHER"

I came to Palestine because I had been brought up to be a Zionist in a Zionist family. The tiny town in Ukraine where we lived was 100% Jewish, yet it was not a homeland; it had the Jewish spirit, but no Jewish independence; we felt oppressed, walled in. We could not even own land, so ours was a town, not a village. The whole Zionist youth organization wanted to go to Palestine, but couldn't. I was the first girl to go. That was in 1920. We had socialist as well as Jewish aspirations. We dreamed not only of a Jewish land, but of a beautiful, just life in it.

When I reached Haifa I was disappointed to find a city, and an Arab city. I had expected to find a wild, empty land. Then we went on to Ein Harod, and a truly empty land. That was fine. At Ein Harod there was nothing, nothing, only grass, swamps, mountains and wild shrubs. Eighty young people gathered there; the others had come two weeks before us and set up tents, beds, and kitchen things. Some of them were from the *Gedud Ha-Avodah* (Labor Battalion) with which we were affiliated, and which had been formed in Palestine some time previously by Zionist-Socialist youth, living in camps and building roads. The *Gedud* gave us our tents and things. The land belonged to the *Keren Kayemeth,* and our capital investment came then, as it has since, from Zionist funds, later the *Keren Hayesod.* So far as they had funds, which were to be gradually repaid, they helped us. Life was so hard and so happy! It was the most beautiful time in my life. I didn't mind hard work, no, nor even illness. Like many others, after two months I fell ill with malaria. But I got well again. Nobody died. We lived on enthusiasm. We could work hard all day and eat only tea and bread, and then dance the *Hora* till three o'clock in the morning. We had all sorts of difficulties with food because we were so inexperienced. Sometimes we had too little, sometimes too much; we didn't know how to prepare it. But we didn't care; we were creating something new that had never before been in the world. Nothing mattered but that.

Our idea was the *Kibbutz,* a group of a few hundred people

living and working as a commune and organically connected with other likeminded groups. We were soon joined by some older, experienced workers who came to help us with this idea, people who had been in Palestine about fifteen years. They brought their children with them. More children were born and though naturally most attached to their parents, were looked upon as belonging to all, and everyone agreed that they must have the best of everything. Many a time we went hungry that they might have what they needed. They lived together in the babies' and children's houses with their nurses and teachers and were visited by their parents whenever these were free from work. We elected a committee to transact our affairs—but no chairman—and we met frequently. On the whole we were always a friendly, peaceful group, held together by enthusiasm. Economic worries, which soon came to us, were borne cheerfully. If we had little to eat, we didn't eat much; if we had little to wear, we didn't wear much; if we had no shoes, we went barefoot. Malaria for the first few years, until we drained the swamps, was a wasting scourge. We used to send all the children in summer to a better-situated group of the *Gedud Ha-Avodah*. From the first, everyone worked eight hours, except in field-work which varies with the seasons. Certain groups specialized in each kind of work, such as vegetables, grain, plantations, chickens, poultry, and also care of children. Only everyone despised kitchen work, and so everyone had to do it, men and women alike, in shifts of two months whether they knew how to do it or not. The food and the people suffered.

Each one had brought clothes from home, and some had more than others. This was not good, so we put all the clothes together in a common store room and they as well as linens were divided and replaced at need. But each one got his own things to use if he liked. Most of us came without money, but those who did bring some could put it in the common fund or keep it, as they liked. However, those who kept it felt uncomfortable. It interfered with their own inner unity, but not with the welfare of the group. Exploitation is a common human trait, and so there were a few lazy people among us, but only a few. It was never a serious problem. As for weakness, we accepted that as inevitable. We could ask no more of anyone than his best. Some of us came prepared for work by previous experience and training; some learned from the work itself. When members brought their old

parents from abroad, we took that for granted just as we did their children. The old people live their own life, have their own kitchen, have the best of the food, and work or not as they choose. We are plentifully supplied with intellectual fare, travelling library, newspapers and lecturers from the Cultural Committee of the Workers' Organization, and concerts and plays because every famous performer and every celebrated troupe loves to come to the Emek. Then the settlers collect in one place. But we are often too tired to enjoy intellectual life, especially in summer. We can only work and sleep. Often we feel this lack, and then there are longings. No time, no strength to read. We even dance less than we used to; sometimes we are too tired even on Friday night when we can sleep next day.

In religious matters the *Halutz* is free. We have among us orthodox as well as atheists, and no one interferes with the beliefs or customs of another in this matter. As for the group life, the Sabbath is a public day of rest; no work is done and as little cooking as possible. We celebrate the holidays beautifully, in our own way. The old people have their *Minyon*, of course.

In questions of sex, too, we are very free as far as ideas go; we believe in love and we believe that where there is no love there can be no faithfulness. As a matter of fact, our sex life is chaste, almost ascetic, as the life of dedicated workers is bound to be. We dispense with the rabbi and *Huppa*, usually, but unions are announced to the Committee, which provides a separate tent or room. Couples rarely part and unfaithfulness is no problem. There is no time or energy for philandering.

The Arab problem hardly exists for us as individuals. Our ideas as socialist workers are friendly to them, but we hardly meet. Only our Committee has friendly group dealings with neighboring Arab villages and often they cooperate in economic matters, as when we sent a joint appeal to the Government last year at the time of the plague of field mice. Arabs often come to our nurse for medical help. We have had almost no trouble, only a little with pasturing of Arab flocks in our fields.

Inner political dissensions have been our greatest trouble. In 1922, I and others left Ein Harod and went to live in the near-by *Kibbutz* of Tel Yosef because Ein Harod separated itself from the *Gedud Ha-Avodah*. The point of difference was that until then all the groups of the *Gedud Ha-Avodah* had one budget which they

shared according to the needs of each group. Ein Harod wanted to develop its farm independently and seceded. Since then, recently, friendly cooperation has been reestablished, without the joint budget, and indeed now Ein Harod has groups bound to it as daughter *Kibbutzim* throughout the land—*the Kibbutz Hameuhad*—the very principle it then repudiated. We had an even worse time in Tel Yosef in 1927. We divided on purely theoretic questions; one half was more left-socialist than the other. We disagreed on international and political questions, and yet the controversy was so deep, so religiously intense, that in the end the "left" group felt constrained to go elsewhere. Indeed, some of them even went to Russia, where they formed a Hebrew-speaking commune. It was a bitter time, a spiritual crisis that oppressed all hearts. Yet we never stopped working hard.

Now everything is composed and we are quietly building. The tents have long since been replaced by barracks and by good houses, stables, children's house, school, hospital. Ein Harod now has about 280 members and 400 inhabitants (including children and old people) and Tel Yosef 180 members and 250 inhabitants. In order to be self-sustaining units of life, their daily needs have been largely supplied by their own manufacture of shoes, clothing, and carpentry. Ein Harod has a flour mill of its own. The agricultural work includes grain growing, vegetables, vineyards, and plantations, also flowers for home use. All branches of dairying and of poultry-raising with incubators are developed. Produce is sent daily by auto-truck to Haifa to be sold by *T'nuva.*

Not everyone can stand life in a *Kibbutz,* not everyone can live by the routine of a bell. It is not a question of better or worse, but of temperament. Some need more privacy. Some mothers want to nest. They are never satisfied with community education and finally force their husbands to leave. It makes trouble when couples are divided on the question of living in the *Kibbutz.* The turnover has been about 50%. Few are capable of being a small wheel in a great machine, and the individual sometimes has to get out either for a while or for good. But it is bad for the *Kibbutz* to have many changes and it is sad and hard for those who remain. At first the *Kibbutz* was a necessity; the youth coming to Palestine could not work for himself alone, he craved a social vision, and it was also easier for him than to settle individually. He gave his work and the mechanics of life were taken

care of for him. In pioneering days it is also the most economical way to live. For some it may be a transition, but for others it is a permanent life. And that is what it ought to be. The youthful enthusiasm of the first years is past, but now there is a steady life, with more thought for comfort and improvement of the place, a middle-aged wish for well-being in the group. We love our home dearly, as do also those who have left it. Most of those who have left remember it with longing.

## THE MOSHAV

### NAHALAL *

BY SHMUEL DAYAN

The valley was desolate. Swamps stretched far and wide. Apart from Tel Adashim—which was then only leased but not definitely acquired—there was no Jewish settlement between Merhabia and Haifa. The scattered, poverty-stricken Arab villages were humped on the upper slope of the hills like so many lonely sentinels. In winter the villagers tilled the little stretches lying above the reach of the encroaching swamps. Their flocks would graze in the hills and lie shivering in caves during the rainy season. Files of women could be seen walking great distances carrying faggots of wood on their heads from the remnants of the ancient forests that once covered the slopes. The men were the lifelong slaves of the absentee landowners.

The one fruitbearing tree found in any abundance was the olive. Near Nahalal two clumps of such trees rose above springs which had been covered with earth in the course of time. A *diligence* journeyed once a day from Nazareth to Haifa, disturbing the silence of the valley as it went by. Tel Shammam railway station stood desolate, two or three mud huts on a gloomy dunghill serving to mark the village. The Haifa-Damascus train would pass through without a single person alighting or ascending. There was no highway; the cart track was difficult enough for animals in summer, let alone in the mud and mire of winter.

There were hundreds of Jewish workers who had held their own in the country throughout the war years and were now all agog with expectation of great things, waiting breathlessly for the opportunity to show their powers, filled with an actual lust to

* Reprinted from *Davar*, 1932.

begin real colonizing work. We went drifting like shadows through the streets in search of employment, at best earning a meagre livelihood as carters while waiting day by day and hour by hour for our fate to bring us to the plough.

When the great hour came—that of redemption of the Emek by the Jewish National Fund—we did not wait for permission. Before Congress had met to discuss the matter or pass any resolutions, we had decided on our own to go up, and up we went.

On the 8th day of Ellul (1921) eight tents were set up on the Mahlul hill for the first twenty men. We had with us an official written notice disclaiming any responsibility for our settlement and recognizing our attempt as being entirely without prejudice to any future decision by the requisite authorities.

The heights of Shimron, or Samunia, rose above us. Cemeteries ancient, and not so ancient, swamps and again swamps. The soil was the familiar poor soil of Merhabia and Tel Adashim. Most of the men had been wearied by former attempts at settlement and disillusioned by hopes unfulfilled.

Such were the conditions under which settlement began.

Until we started there were only two types of Jewish husbandry in Palestine, exemplified by the plantation villages of the coastal belt and by the grain-growing districts of Galilee colonized by the ICA. Zionist settlement methods did not at the beginning depart from the forms already laid down. The early *Kvutzoth* and even large-scale private farms did not venture upon any appreciable innovations with the exception of the modest experiments in mixed farming which had been made at Ben Shemen and Degania shortly before.

There was no dairy industry in the country until the colonization of the Emek. There was no poultry farming worthy of the name. Jews scarcely grew vegetables. Table grapes produced by Jews were not to be found in the markets, despite the many vineyards in Judea, which served only for wine making. Except for an experiment with two or three orchards in Petah Tikwa, fruit trees were not grown.

Instead of taking a unit of 250-300 dunams for cultivation, as in Lower Galilee, we established one of a hundred dunams, so that it could be worked by a single family. We also started on several branches at a time, so as not to be left stranded, as might have happened had we depended on any single one. Further, we

made the individual solely and personally responsible, and established the principle of "self work" without hired labor; a system of mutual aid was initiated for cases of sickness, accident, or the like; all sale and purchase was to be on a cooperative basis, as well as all our public services; and a set of rules and by-laws consonant with our social intentions was laid down.

Just as the land on which we settled had been bare, so this new field of social relationships into which we simultaneously ventured had been unexplored save theoretically. Socially and agriculturally we started with a clean slate.

Behind us lay the mode of life of the Jewish farmers of the first generation, level with us were the *Kvutzah,* on the hill beside us was the backward Arab village; we came to the center of our area of 8,000 dunams and began to set up a *Moshav,* a Jewish village of a hundred families, the immovable basis of which was to be the free and independent working family.

It took us from two to three years to make the place habitable. It was a matter of swamp-draining, road-making, land-survey, water-supply, stable-building, putting up wooden huts for ourselves, uprooting that scourge of agriculture, the weed *yablit,* weeding in general, clearing stones and rocks from the fields, putting up fences, and a hundred and one other things. By and by came the marking of the boundaries, the beginnings of planting, the laying out of vegetable gardens, and the first attempts at dairy and poultry raising.

The soil was improved in the course of cultivation. It was repeatedly ploughed to begin with, deep ploughing being employed over considerable areas. The fields were manured; trees of all kinds, both ornamental and fruitbearing, were planted. The place was made to look like a real village.

During the first year, 80% of the settlers suffered from malaria. The medical expert forbade us to settle in this spot and the Zionist Director of Colonization agreed with him. They feared to endanger both the men and the undertaking. The local spring, in fact, was known to the Arabs as "Death Waters," and served as a hotbed of malaria. Two previous attempts at settlement had been made at this spot, one by Arabs and the other by Germans. Those who had taken part in them lie buried on the heights of Samunia.

We drained the swamps. A network of iron, cement, and earth-

enware pipes now collects the waters and supplies us with what we need for irrigation at a rate of 80 cubic meters an hour. The region has become healthy; malaria has vanished; a hardy younger generation, born on the spot, is growing up.

All the ground is now being tilled and sown. We have successfully introduced vetch, clover, and maize; the latter does exceptionally well. These were never grown here formerly, nor were pumpkins or beets. Crop rotation as well as natural and artificial manures do their work, and we have a satisfactory yield. There is sufficient green fodder and hay to serve the needs of the dairy all the year round—except for the rainy months of December to February.

Our dairy industry began with Arab cows which were afterwards crossbred with Dutch cattle. The less productive animals were gradually eliminated, and now the average cow gives about 3,000 litres of milk a year. Dairying made splendid progress until the disease of abortion set in, reaching its height about two years ago and not yet having entirely vanished. Nevertheless, calves have been growing, the milk production has increased and is now our main source of income. In 1922 there were 9,800 litres of milk in all produced. In 1930 we sold 381,123 litres, apart from the milk retained for our own needs and for the calves. There were 88 cows in Nahalal in 1922. Now there are 395. Cattle to the value of LP. 6,700 have been sold.

It was Nahalal that initiated modern poultry farming. Others have learnt from us, until this branch has reached its present high standard in the labor settlements. In 1922 we possessed 133 chickens bought from the neighboring Arab villages; this year we have 31,016. The daily average of eggs laid was 70 in 1922; in 1930 it was 1,763.

Vegetables grow successfully the whole year round, but are not so profitable as they might be, since the climate of Nahalal does not favor early ripening. For this reason vegetables reach the market only when it is overstocked and prices are low. Our strawberries, however, sell well. The table grapes are of good quality, but they too ripen in the middle of the season and do not bring in much.

It is difficult to give an adequate idea of our income without going into detailed figures. Part of it is sunk in the farm, part is used for replenishing and repairing stock and plant, etc. No

account is kept of each family's consumption. The receipts from sale of produce amounted in 1930 to LP. 10,316, which works out at about LP. 150 per family on the average. This means a passable basis of living.

To put the whole into terms of money, it would be necessary to evaluate all the produce consumed by men and animals, which amounts to roughly LP. 100 per household. This means that a family in Nahalal produces a value of about LP. 250 a year, and the village as a whole some LP. 18,000. Under Arab cultivation the soil produced 50 to 60 kgs. per dunam, which was paid for at the rate of LP. 5 to LP. 6 per ton. In those days, therefore, the whole produce of the Nahalal area was from LP. 300 to LP. 400 a year.

In the sphere of social life we have come very near achieving our main purpose. Despite all difficulties, we have held fast to our cardinal principles of self-work and mutual help. And we hope soon to be able to realize them in their fullness, for the young folk growing up will before long be able to do their share alongside their fathers.

Nahalal's pride is the school. In 1922 there were 52 children here. Now there are 266. The school gave us many searchings of heart, though we have given of our best to it; for we did not at first see what methods we should adopt to make sure that our children did not drift back to town, but should continue our work after us. But now the first batch of pupils which started from the kindergarten has attained leaving age, and we already have about forty of our children at work with us. School holidays come at the maize harvesting season, and then even the tiny tots will be found helping happily in the fields. While full attention is given to general education, the village spirit is alive among the young generation.

While on the one hand Nahalal grows through its natural increase, on the other hand settlers continually bring over their relations from abroad. When all the members had brought their families in 1922 and settled down, the agricultural population numbered 184. It is now 502 and the total of inhabitants 674. Meanwhile settlement has not been confined to Nahalal itself, but has spread over the entire Nahalal block. This includes the semi-industrial little colony of Jidda, the "Yugoslavian" hamlet of just six families, the Shtok farm, the *Moshav* of Kfar Yehoshua which is modelled on Nahalal, the Kfar Baruch village, the Gibton branch

of the Zionist Experiment Station, the *Kvutzah* of Hasharon, Sharona, Gevat, and Sarid, and the budding settlement of Kfar Hahoresh. Nahalal serves as a center, in the fullest meaning of the word, for all these. The lectures, dramatic performances and entertainments, as well as the social, political, and agricultural rallies held at Nahalal attract old and young from the whole neighborhood. The village itself has a well-developed cultural life, apart from the fact that for us the creativeness of farm labor, with all the inner satisfaction it involves, is in itself a mainspring of cultural existence.

When today, after ten years, you climb one of the hills in the neighborhood and look about you, viewing the scattered settlements and the green trees, the buildings and the fruitful earth, you shut your eyes and remember what the place was ten years ago; and you silently bless the toil that has wrought all this.

Mahlul village stands on its hill as before. We have not interfered with it save for draining its swamps. But we have shown a path that is open to all who wish to follow.

# THE CITIES OF PALESTINE

BY JESSIE SAMPTER, WITH COLLABORATORS *

## PALESTINE CENSUS, NOVEMBER, 1931

DECLARATION BY THE SUPERINTENDENT OF CENSUS OF THE PROVISIONAL TOTAL OF URBAN POPULATION BY RELIGIOUS CONFESSION

| District | Persons | Moslems | Christians | Jews | Others |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| PALESTINE | 386,787 | 187,438 | 69,289 | 128,541 | 1,519 |
| Southern District | 149,210 | 82,433 | 13,690 | 52,787 | 300 |
| Khan Yunis | 3,807 | 3,801 | 6 | — | — |
| Gaza | 17,069 | 16,371 | 697 | 1 | — |
| Beersheba | 2,958 | 2,791 | 151 | 11 | 5 |
| Majdal | 6,228 | 6,165 | 63 | — | — |
| Jaffa | 51,366 | 35,010 | 9,207 | 7,132 | 17 |
| Tel Aviv | 46,116 | 106 | 137 | 45,607 | 266 |
| Ramla | 10,417 | 8,198 | 2,210 | 7 | 2 |
| Lydda (Lud) | 11,249 | 9,991 | 1,219 | 29 | 10 |
| Jerusalem Dist. | 121,781 | 28,931 | 31,201 | 51,553 | 96 |
| Hebron | 17,532 | 17,277 | 109 | 134 | 12 |
| Beit Jala | 2,732 | 196 | 2,532 | 1 | 3 |
| Bethlehem | 6,817 | 1,217 | 5,594 | 1 | 5 |
| Jerusalem | 90,407 | 19,735 | 19,180 | 51,416 | 76 |
| Rumallah | 4,293 | 506 | 3,786 | 1 | — |
| Northern Dist. | 115,796 | 66,074 | 24,398 | 24,201 | 1,123 |
| Tulkarm | 4,815 | 4,529 | 254 | 18 | 14 |
| Nablus | 17,171 | 16,487 | 512 | 4 | 168 |
| Jenin | 2,696 | 2,592 | 101 | 2 | 1 |
| Nazareth | 8,719 | 3,202 | 5,451 | 60 | 6 |
| Beisan | 3,100 | 2,696 | 298 | 89 | 17 |
| Tiberias | 8,633 | 2,682 | 682 | 5,260 | 9 |
| Haifa | 50,533 | 20,349 | 13,839 | 15,995 | 350 |
| Acre | 7,893 | 6,078 | 1,521 | 233 | 61 |
| Shefaram | 2,790 | 981 | 1,314 | 1 | 494 |
| Safed | 9,446 | 6,478 | 426 | 2,539 | 3 |

* Bernard Rosenblatt, Cecil Hyman, Dr. Kurt Grunwald.

There is no city of 100,000 inhabitants in all Palestine. What is dignified by the name of "city" often appears as no more than a small town or village. The cities of Bible days were even smaller. Size is no sign of a city's importance, but rather its relation to its hinterland, as Haifa, with the Emek behind it, Tel Aviv as the heart of agricultural Judea. Jerusalem stands out as a solitary city; its dependence on the water of the few neighboring springs and pools accentuates the inevitable dependence on the rural background. An artificial attempt to build a Jewish city at Afulah failed because there was no organic need for it. It has remained a small and unprosperous Jewish village. Tiberias and Haifa, at the two outlets of the Emek, answer its needs as it does theirs.

No account of the cities of Palestine is complete without mention of the ruins of cities. Every city within its confines except Tel Aviv has visible or invisible ruins. The invisible ones are those on which it is built. Jerusalem is said to have been destroyed twenty times since prehistoric days. Throughout the country are ruins of Crusaders' towers and of old churches, with here and there a well preserved Roman ruin. Of the more ancient Canaanite cities nothing is left but the round mounds which cover their ruins.

The census figures above throw an interesting light on the relationship of Jews to others in the urban life of Palestine, and also on the relation of religion to nationality in the East. It is noteworthy that in Palestine at present there are only two small cities without Jews, but there are five cities containing one Jew each. The division of inhabitants in terms of religion is usual in the Orient and has come to imply an hereditary communal affiliation rather than the type of personal belief. Many of those listed in the census report as "Others" are in fact Jews who consider themselves outside any religious fold and for conscientious reasons did not register themselves as Jews. These are of course radical westerners who do not understand the Oriental conception of religion and nationality.

The British, in this as in all other matters, have endeavored to maintain the *status quo,* and thus the municipal election laws are such that the municipal councils are elected on the basis of religious community representation. This is undesirable from the point of view of cooperation between the various communities, as the election campaigning naturally accentuates differences and

disagreements. Were the representation to be on the basis of political parties or classes, inter-racial cooperation would be greatly enhanced. Although there is nominally municipal self-government, the elections and the budget are controlled and must be sanctioned by the Palestine Government. The present municipal law is considered temporary and a new one has been promised.

One of the benefits conferred by the British Government is that of city planning. In all the larger towns definite plans have been made and restrictions enforced in the new quarters. This has met with the cooperation of the Jews.

Jerusalem, the holy city, is built in the mountains, yet no high mountains are seen from it. It appears comparatively flat because of its own elevation. It lies at about 2,500 feet above sea level, with the ridge of Mount Scopus and the Mount of Olives rising to the East; on the north it runs into the rocky mountain range of Judea; to the east, west and south, are deep ravines. The mountains of Moab across the Jordan are visible from many points in the city. The Dead Sea, a blue gem in the barren wilderness of Judea, is visible from a few high places in the surroundings.

The inner or Old City, within the city walls, has crooked streets so narrow that no vehicle can be used; many of them are blind alleys. All the houses are of stone. The roofs and walls are so arranged as to catch the rain water which runs into cisterns in the courts. Until the British Occupation, this was almost the only water supply, eked out in summer by the Arab water-seller who carried water in bags made of the whole skins of sheep or goats. Picturesque in its hoary age, until within recent years dirty, ill-smelling and over-crowded, the Old City has been much improved since the War, as its cellar occupants have died or departed, and through the efforts of the British Government and the Pro-Jerusalem Society founded under its auspices, it has been cleaned out in part and in part reconstructed. It still retains its oriental character, including enough dirt and slipperiness to remain characteristic. The dwellings, of one or two rooms, covered with flat domes, open on a stone court, and all the stairways and passages are open. A number of dwellings, divided from one another by a few steps, are combined into one structure; the rooms are large with very small windows. Roofs are used as balconies and life in summer is spent in the open, but in the shade. A large part of the bazaars is under vaulted roofs. In the narrow alley-ways between the shops

with their gay wares projecting into the street, a careless donkey or camel may cause wild havoc.

The beautiful building, slender-columned and blue-domed, of the Mosque of Omar, one of the holiest of Moslem houses of worship, stands on the site of the ancient Temple. Within it is the rock, perhaps the most ancient altar of mankind, which was holy even in the days of the Jebusites. Begun in the seventh century, the building has Byzantine and Persian elements. Near it, in a deep hollow under its western wall is the Wailing Wall of the Jews. Against the massive and weather-beaten blocks of yellowish stone, with grasses between them, groups of old world Jews still pray and weep regularly. On special occasions every type of Jew gathers here. Political importance has been attached to what should have remained a relic of old sorrows.

The Old City is surrounded by broad stone walls with numerous massive gates. The Jaffa Gate, which leads into the New City, is a busy centre, where east and west meet, with modern shops and oriental bazaars, a medley of costumes and physiognomies of all nations, automobiles, carriages, camels, bicycles and donkeys. Here stands on the site of Herod's Palace the massive tower, the so-called "Tower of David," dating from the fourteenth century, but constructed with older material. The tower, cleaned and repaired by the British Government, is now frequently used for art and similar exhibits.

A modern water supply has been installed in Jerusalem, Old and New, the water being brought from some distance, but it is not yet adequate to the needs of the city and every summer there is a shortage. The inhabitants are then put on rations and the supply is turned on only at certain hours. This situation, which causes much suffering, especially to the poor, is being remedied by new undertakings on the part of the Government beginning in 1933.

A number of impressive new buildings have been added to the modern section of Jerusalem, formerly notable only for churches, monasteries and hospitals. Among them are the new Government House; the Museum of Antiquities, a gift of John D. Rockefeller; the new Young Men's Christian Association; Barclay's Bank; and the King David Hotel. The New City has been paved, new thoroughfares have been constructed, electric lights installed, an entirely changed aspect given to it in the last ten

years. In all this municipal work, the number of Jewish workmen employed has been very small, out of all proportion to the number of Jewish inhabitants and the taxes they pay.

In 1881 Jerusalem is said to have had 35,000 inhabitants, of whom only 12,000 were Jews. By the outbreak of the War, the Jews formed more than half of the population. The population of Jerusalem, according to the Census taken in November, 1931, was 90,407, of whom 51,416 were Jews,* 19,735 Moslems and 19,180 Christians. Since the Census of 1922 gives the total as 62,578, it will be clear that the New City has recently undergone considerable expansion. Jewish sections have developed mainly to the northwest and west of the town, in the districts of Romema, Zichron Moshe, Beit Hakerem, Beit Vegan, Montefiore, Rehabia, Talpioth. In these sections most of the houses are well built and surrounded by gardens. Bathrooms have been installed, while such amenities as telephones and central heating are coming into more general use. Heating may seem incongruous in Jerusalem, but it is nevertheless a comfort in a hill town, wind-swept and liable to be visited by snow. Good roads with cheap motor-bus and taxi services connect these districts with the centre.

To the physical building of the new Jerusalem the Jews have contributed mainly in domestic architecture in which field they have developed a new and distinctive type. Recently they have also added various public buildings, notably the Hebrew University and National Library on Mt. Scopus, the offices of the Jewish National Fund, simple in line and impressive in proportions, the Nathan and Lina Straus Health Centre of Hadassah, the King David Hotel with its interior of Jewish decorative motifs, the Teachers' Seminary and the Edison Theatre. All of these have added to the stateliness and beauty of the city.

Jerusalem outside the Walls is on the whole modern. Nevertheless some unutterably dirty and crowded Jewish slum sections still persist.

These are the outward Jewish aspects of the new Jerusalem. Inwardly the position is somewhat complicated, unlike the rest of Palestine where the Jewish settlements are more or less homogeneous. In Tel Aviv, all elements are united in the pride of their city and in their efforts to further its welfare. The people in the agricultural settlements are all concerned with their agricultural

* Exclusive of the Jewish suburbs of Beit Hakerem, Beit Vegan, and Givat Shaul.

and economic problems. But Jerusalem Jewry, picturesque because of its variety, coming from every country under the sun, is divided as much culturally, spiritually, theologically, socially, vocationally as it is topographically. As *the* religious centre, Jerusalem contains Jews, members of the Agudath Israel, who carry the minutiæ of their observances not only into their own everyday life, but uncompromisingly into that of everybody else, and they even refuse to admit the orthodoxy of the orthodox Chief Rabbis. They abhor the secular endeavors of the rest of Jewry towards a National Home, at times carrying their hostility to the extent of fraternity with the non-Jewish enemies of Zionism.

As the political centre of a country under British mandate, Jerusalem has a large proportion of English Jews who, as is natural, have brought with them many of the characteristics of the English people, their caste system, for instance. Just as the social life of the governing English is divided according to rank and family, so is the social life of the English Jews in Jerusalem, and by the adventitious reason of their being English, they have been able to color the outward appearance of Jerusalem Jewry in general. Their separateness has tended to impair their influence as a group in the *Yishub* which is particularly unfortunate in a community already disrupted by group consciousness, as well as weakening the hold of these English Jews in their own relation to Palestine life.

Also of importance are some of the American Jews in Jerusalem.

Immigrant Jews from Persia, Bukhara, Yemen, Iraq and other Oriental countries, of various degrees of poverty and wealth, but most of them abjectly poor, form a large and influential part of the population. Together with the native *Sephardic* Jews, they typify the Orient in dress, manners and outlook. In their dwellings, they use gay cushions, rugs and couches in place of chairs. Their costumes, too, are often gorgeous. Very early marriage is common among them. Their women, often beautiful, are almost all illiterate. Added to these are the old-type Polish *Halukah* Jews with brilliant velvet gowns, long ear-locks and head-dress trimmed with a wreath of fur, with village and city Arabs, with nuns and priests from diverse lands, Greek-Catholics, Roman-Catholics, Armenians, Abyssinians, together making the picturesque medley of an afternoon promenade on the Jaffa road. The Christian pop-

ulation of Jerusalem is even more various and at odds than the Jewish, for it has no racial unity. With the Jewish Intelligentzia, with professors, students, newspaper-men, political doctrinaires, messianic visionaries, socialists and labor leaders, nationalists who see only themselves and internationalists who see everybody but themselves, each holding fast to his own special theory, it becomes clear that Jerusalem Jewry despite its large majority is powerless to blend into communal unity. There is a Jerusalem *Kehillah* which is weakly organized and not fully representative. The *Sephardim* and the *Ashkenazim*, each with innumerable synagogues, have their Chief Rabbis, the former, Jacob Meir, the latter, Abraham Kook.

Partly by the exclusion of non-Palestinian citizens from the voting lists of the Municipality, and most of the Jews in Jerusalem are as yet non-Palestinians, partly by the exclusion of several important Jewish suburbs, only four Jews sat in a Municipal Council of twelve under a Moslem mayor who governed through a set of rules printed in Turkish, of which no translation existed. Corruption was openly charged and never denied, and all Jewish effort to procure change remained unavailing. Finally, when after the 1929 riots, the Mayor joined an anti-Zionist delegation to London and the Government appointed to his place the Arab and not the Jewish vice-Mayor, the Jewish members resigned; so that today Jerusalem is governed by a Council wholly non-Jewish. In 1932, new elections were three years overdue; they had been held up ostensibly for a modernized municipal law which has been long promised.

Despite this political powerlessness, economically and socially the influence of the Jews in Jerusalem is predominant. The trade and transport of the city is largely Jewish; drama, music and art almost entirely so. The Zionist institutions and the Jewish Agency have their headquarters there and are in continuous touch with the central Government. The Zionist Information Bureau endeavors to divert Jewish tourists from an itinerary solely of antiquities into living Jewish channels. "Tourism" promises to be one of the most profitable industries of Palestine. Jewish schools and high-schools abound in Jerusalem; there are several hospitals including one for the insane, and innumerable welfare organizations. The new Jewish suburbs continue to grow and the building activity in them occupies many Jewish laborers. Though Jerusalem

can hardly be called a Jewish city, the Jewish sections are beginning to form a continuous belt and there are those who see the only hope for unified Jewish development in what would practically come to be an autonomous Jewish municipality within the framework of the city.

### JAFFA

Jaffa, rising creamy white on its hill, as seen from the blue Mediterranean is beautiful. The Hebrew of its name signifies "beautiful one." But within, the city is ugly and uninteresting. In pre-war days, though dirtier, it was at least picturesque; now it has developed a quite modern and unprepossessing business aspect. Its port is still the most important in Palestine, yet its harbor is primitive with black stone reefs jutting from the water so boldly that all vessels have to anchor far out and passengers and merchandise are rowed to shore by Arab longshoremen. Nevertheless, the tonnage of ships which enters the port annually is about 1,500,000 tons, and the share of Jaffa in the foreign trade of Palestine amounts on the average to 51% of the total value of the imports and 60% of the exports. It is also still the chief port of immigration and thousands of returning Jews have to pass through the initiative ordeal of its port formalities. Recently, however, work has been begun to modernize the harbor and increase its facilities.

The city has about 51,000 inhabitants, of whom more than 7,000 are Jews, who take a large part in its business life; but before the war they formed one-fifth of its population of 50,000, living chiefly in three separate Jewish quarters. The growth of Tel Aviv has left Jaffa an almost wholly Arab city except for part of its business life. In 1930, after the riots, through the influence of some Arab politicians, the city of Jaffa boycotted Jewish electricity and for a short while again lighted its streets with Lux lamps. At this period still more of the Jewish population left Jaffa and moved to Tel Aviv. The Southern District has its seat of Government at Jaffa and there has recently been built a new palatial post office building, although the amount of postal business transacted there is less than a third of that of Tel Aviv, where the two post offices are housed in inadequate rented buildings.

The environment of Jaffa, Arab as well as Jewish, is one of lovely orange groves and gardens with tropic luxuriance of foliage

and fruit. Jaffa is identical with the most ancient, historic and legendary city of Joppa, whence Jonah set sail and where Andromeda was saved by Perseus.

## TEL AVIV

Tel Aviv today stretches along the seashore north of Jaffa. It is a town of more than 46,000 inhabitants, and what distinguishes it from any other town in Palestine is its completely modern character. It is largely electrified and paved; it has a good water system; its dwellings from the beginning were built with modern conveniences. Its public buildings and institutions answer the needs of a civilized community. What distinguishes it from any other city in the world is its completely Jewish character. All its residents are Jews and all public and private services are carried out by Jews, its police and street-cleaning, its building and repairing, its transportation, post and telegraph, its hospitals and schools, its industry and commerce, and Hebrew is the language of all public transactions and social activities. Every other language is a foreign language in Tel Aviv.

In 1909 Tel Aviv was a bare stretch of sand. Jewish merchants and clerks living and working in Jaffa then founded it as a garden-city suburb. In 1910 it had 300 inhabitants; in 1919 it had 3,000. The white façade of the Hebrew high school, the Herzl Gymnasia, built on land owned by the Jewish National Fund, already faced Herzl Street, then a broad sunny residential section, now the best shopping center. In 1909, the Jewish National Fund diverging from its accepted policy, made a loan of $48,000 to the *Ahuzat Bait,* a cooperative building association; but the further development of Tel Aviv has been almost entirely based on private capital. Meir Dizengoff, one of its founders and its mayor for all but three years of its political existence, is a business-mayor who believes in the balance of industry as a complement to agriculture. Industry and commerce have centered in Tel Aviv, which is the natural market and workshop for the group of flourishing Jewish agricultural villages and settlements that surround it. Private initiative has led at times to dangerous land-speculation and to much bad building, but the corrective influences of social solidarity have been strong and effective. Today Tel Aviv is a working city, 60% of whose breadwinners are skilled and unskilled laborers working

in a concentrated business district. Yet with its white cement houses, its air of sea-side leisure, its broad tree-lined streets and boulevards and its many flowering gardens and open garden-spots, much of it has kept a garden-city aspect. Unfortunately, even here the slum persists, while open lots are found between buildings in many districts.

Nevertheless, it has been the pioneer in municipal planning in Palestine.

From its beginnings until May, 1921, local government was administered by a Committee obeyed by mutual consent and elected by all property owners and tenants, including women. Then, in 1921, Tel Aviv was legally empowered to administer its affairs autonomously as a municipality, to levy its own civic taxes and to negotiate loans, and a little later it was allowed to maintain its own police force. In 1922, the adjacent Jewish suburbs joined it and then began its rapid urban development. Yet despite its size and importance, it is still denied full municipal status and is classed with small towns having a "Local Council." It has a council of fifteen members with an executive of seven and a directorate of three. For three years it had a socialist administration, during the most trying period of the Palestinian crisis, with David Bloch as Mayor. The seat of the Workers' Organization is in Tel Aviv where labor is strongly organized and there is a continuous fight for labor representation, with repeated attempts to disfranchise workers. There is a struggle for more democratic management, as in educational affairs, where for a while, during the socialist régime, a school tax replaced graded school fees so that all public schools were free. The Government, which has great authority in municipal affairs, sides with the conservative forces. Yet they granted to Tel Aviv, in the period 1920-27, only LP. 17,000 ($85,000) out of LP. 300,000 allotted to municipalities. The budget of Tel Aviv in 1909 was $830; at its highest in 1925 it was $717,000, and the city had until very recently no Government aid for the maintenance of its police-force, education or health service. This negative attitude of the Government was a factor in the serious crisis that Tel Aviv weathered in 1926-27.

Tel Aviv contains about 25% of the Jewish population of Palestine, about 5% of the total Palestinian population, and pays about 15% of the total taxation of Palestine. In the expansion years of 1923-25, Tel Aviv expanded most rapidly. In the crash

of 1926, Tel Aviv reacted most severely. Fleeing from financial oppression in Poland, many middle-class families came to Tel Aviv, bought land, indulged in soaring land-speculation and began to build houses. Suddenly Poland crashed and their money-supply was cut off. Building stopped, some buildings remained unfinished and unpaid for, all Tel Aviv's wealth was frozen in stone. Individuals suffered incredible hardship and the city barely escaped bankruptcy. To stop speculation, land tax was increased on undeveloped property. Building associations were formed with municipal cooperation in purchase. To meet falling revenues, stringent economies were practised. The Government, too, gave a measure of belated aid. Debts were consolidated, to be repaid within ten years, and by 1928 the crisis was past.

In 1923, a municipal loan of $375,000, the first Jewish municipal loan in history, was floated in America. Despite the crisis, interest was paid promptly and regularly.

Tel Aviv today is a shining seaside city, a health resort with bathing beaches and hotels of every type, to which Palestine flocks in summer. It is a cultural center with its several attractive theatres, an opera house, concert halls, picture shows and libraries. It has an open-air *Beth Ha-Am* (Community Center) which can seat 6,000, which is a people's forum and also houses a people's university. *Oneg Shabbat,* the idea of the poet Bialik, which is held in an appropriate building, *Ohel Shem,* is a revival of Sabbath congregation for study, discussion and song, and is extremely popular. The 5th Levant Fair was held during 1932 in the large Exhibition Ground. At the 4th Fair in 1929, 209 local and 121 foreign firms participated, and there were 120,000 paying visitors. At the Levant Fair which opened on April 7, 1932, twenty-four countries and nine governments were represented, with 1,226 exhibitors, 821 from abroad and 405 Palestinian, with 285,000 paying visitors. The participating governments were Palestine, Egypt, Cyprus, Roumania, Latvia, Russia, Bulgaria, Switzerland and Poland. The international athletic meet of the Maccabiad, held at a large stadium to the north of the city, recently brought thousands of visitors from all parts of the world. On Purim the whole city and its many guests turn out for the masquerade and carnival that fills its streets with color and laughter. On *Hanukkah* at the municipal festival, a *Menorah* is lighted above the city, over a field of burning candles in the hands of 10,000 school children who then

march through the streets like streams of light. Two Hebrew dailies and several weekly and monthly magazines are published; there are several large Hebrew book-publishing houses, among them Stibel, Omanuth, Dvir and Mizpeh, and more than twenty book shops.

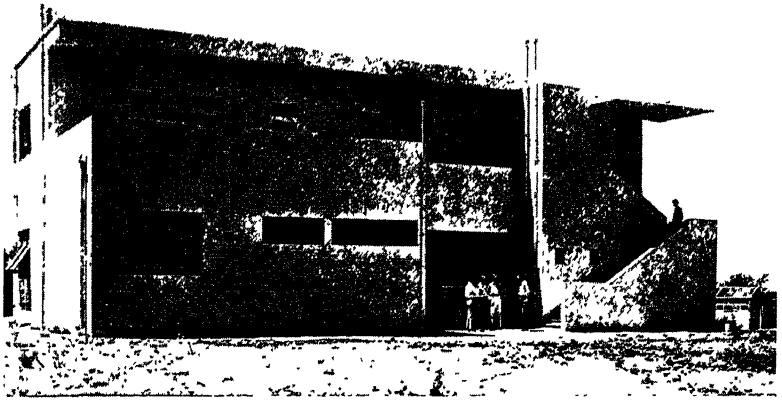
Education is provided by about fifty kindergartens, ten elementary schools, six high schools, four technical schools, two music schools, evening classes and lectures for workers. The number of these institutions is continually increasing. The health activities of the community are carried on by various institutions. The Hadassah Tel Aviv Municipal Hospital is now housed in a new building, near which is the Nathan and Lina Straus Health Center of Hadassah. The headquarters of the *Kuppat Holim* are also in this city serving the local as well as country-wide administration. Private hospitals, physicians and drug stores abound. There are infant welfare centers and clinics, social welfare agencies of all sorts and efforts at organized relief.

Jewish industry concentrates in Tel Aviv and serves the Jewish settlement area about it, which is bound to it by regular and frequent autobus service from all the villages. A project has been broached for the building of a separate harbor at the mouth of the Yarkon River. The autobus compensates Tel Aviv for its inadequate railroad service, the center of which is in the small Arab town of Lydda. Among the products manufactured in Tel Aviv are candy, cigarettes, preserves, macaroni, soap, perfume, candles, ice, leather goods, roof and floor tiles, bricks, furniture, ice-boxes, all sorts of clothing and textiles, shoes, hats, sweaters, umbrellas, cooking-stoves, boxes, etc. The Ruttenberg Electric Power Station is one of the most beautiful buildings in town. All large banks as well as the Workers' Organization have their branches here.

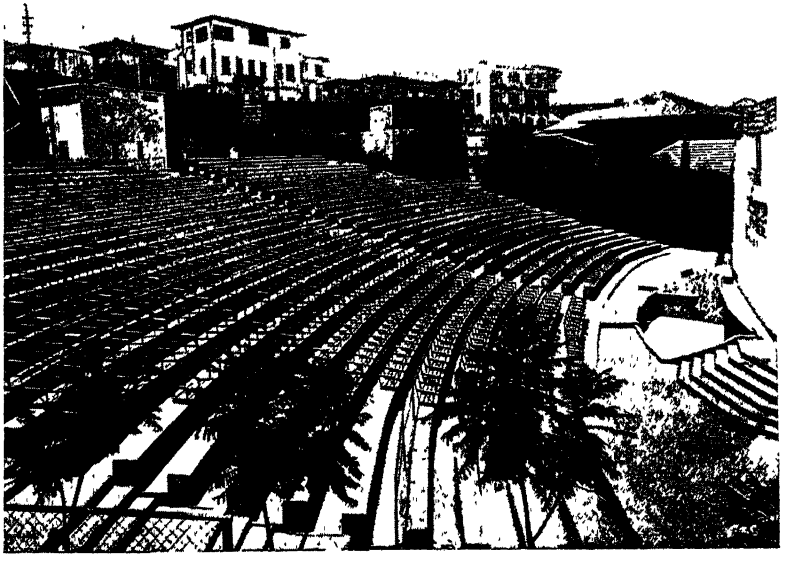
Tel Aviv plays an increasingly important rôle in the life of Jewish Palestine. Its position as the only all Jewish city in the world makes it also a symbol for the Diaspora.

### HAIFA

Haifa lies in the Bay of Acre, the only natural harbor of Palestine. The new city spreads up along the flank of Mount Carmel to the very top of the mountain. It is gloriously situated, with the golden bay below it, the green *Emek* spreading to the north



LABORATORY, EXPERIMENTAL AGRICULTURAL STATION, REHOBOTH



OPEN AIR THEATRE, HAIFA

and the tree-crowned heights of Carmel above it. The smooth curve of sandy beach is lined with palm trees. The old city, an unattractive and dirty town, lies near the water. Above it, long before Jewish immigration improved the upper town, a colony of German Templars had built a pleasant suburb. The Bahais, a Persian religious group, also have a colony here with charming gardens. Until the recent Jewish immigration, Haifa had little importance in the life of Palestine.

As Palestine is old, so is Haifa young. The Carmel mountains, enclosing Haifa, played a part in history from the days of the prophet Elijah, but the history of Haifa Bay began only yesterday.

When Napoleon Bonaparte, at the close of the 18th Century, met the first check to his career of conquest at the gates of Acre, Haifa was but a small fishing village, while on the opposite side of Haifa Bay stood the citadel of Acre, famous since the days of the Crusaders. A century later, Haifa was still an unimportant town, hardly to be compared with the two cities of Jaffa and Jerusalem, which were already connected by a French-built railway. So that when Herzl, in his Altneuland, envisioned Haifa as the great gateway to Palestine, he spoke not as a political leader, but as a prophet. For it was several years later, in 1905, that Haifa was made the terminus of the railway from Damascus, connecting the future port with the large hinterland beyond the river Jordan. That year may be taken as the birthday of the New Haifa, when it began to rival and, finally, outstrip Acre. In 1906, Haifa had a population of less than 15,000, including about 3,000 *Sephardic* and Arabic speaking Jews, when the first group of Russian Jews, including Shenkin, Pewsner and Dunie, landed from Russia. The 1931 Census gives Haifa a population of over 50,000, of whom about 16,000, or nearly one-third, are Jews, divided almost equally between the settlement of Hadar Hacarmel and the rest of Haifa, including Bat Galim.

In 1920 the first three houses were built on Hadar Hacarmel, in the vicinity of the Haifa Technicum, which, completed in 1913, stood like a watchtower over Haifa, a living symbol of the historic struggle for the Hebrew language before the Great War. The future historian might draw an object lesson from the fact that both Jewish commercial centres of Palestine, Tel Aviv and Haifa, have grown around a school house as the centre, the Gym-

nasium in Tel Aviv and the Technicum on Hadar Hacarmel. The latter has a student body of more than 100, with a graduating class of 25. Its alumni are already doing excellent work, not only in Palestine, but in Egypt and other neighboring countries. In its grounds is the *Real Schule,* under Dr. A. Biram, now acknowledged one of the best schools in Palestine, with several hundred students, including some from America, Central Europe and the British Provinces.

In eleven years Hadar Hacarmel has grown until it has a population of almost 8,000, with more than four hundred houses, including several apartment houses with quarters for fifteen and sixteen families. This district, because of the Technicum, has become the center of Jewish Haifa, but there are several other smaller centers such as Bat Galim along the seashore, with a hundred houses and a population of nearly 1,000, which will probably grow in importance with the completion of Haifa harbor; Neve Shanan, on the ridge of the Carmel overlooking *Emek Israel,* with about 150 houses occupied by 180 families; and the smaller settlements on Mt. Carmel as well as the Herbert Samuel group. But nearly half the Jewish population, largely *Sephardim,* is still in the old city along the Bay. The old city itself is being slowly transformed as the port of Haifa becomes a reality. Several years ago, through a mortgage loan of $350,000, advanced by a Boston Zionist, Max Shoolman, a Jewish business quarter was established and at the present time a larger district is being constructed. In the meanwhile, Palestine has witnessed the establishment of its first million dollar industry, a large cement factory, just outside of Haifa, built largely through the initiative, energy and money of a Russian Jew, Michael Pollock. This Nesher Cement factory with the Shemen Factory for oils and soap, the Flour Mill and the Ruttenberg Electric Power station have made Haifa the centre for heavy industry, even as Tel Aviv serves the needs of handicrafts and lighter industries.

In 1925, through the initiative of the American Zion Commonwealth, the Haifa Bay Company was organized, which acquired over 50,000 dunams of land in the Haifa harbor area on the banks of the Kishon River, the largest part of which Hadassah is redeeming for the J.N.F., thus assuring Jewish control, free from the threat of land speculation. The new oil pipe line will pass through this district connecting with the oil field of the Valayet of Mosul.

The future railroad will probably be built parallel to the pipe line along the present motor and caravan track.

About 180,000 to 200,000 tons of merchandise passed through this port in 1931. More than 50% of this was Jewish. Yet, in the building of the harbor, as until recently in the harbor activities, a relatively insignificant number of Jews has been employed.

The Haifa harbor begun by the British Government in 1929 will probably be completed in 1934, and bids well to transform the town into the largest and richest city of Palestine, whereas the natural beauty of the encompassing Carmel mountains will always make it a point of attraction for artists and tourists. With the development of the hinterland in *Emek Israel* beyond and the concentration of the export and import trade on the docks of Haifa Bay, the city will naturally take its place with Marseilles, Genoa, Naples and Alexandria as one of the great connecting links between Europe and Asia.

### TIBERIAS

The holy city of Tiberias is beautifully situated on the shores of the blue lake of Kinnereth, 681 feet below sea level on a narrow plain between the lake and the hills. It is entered through a Roman gateway beside the ruins of a Roman castle. The town is predominantly Jewish, having before the war about 7,000 Jewish inhabitants, 1,400 Moslems, and only about 200 Christians (Baedeker, 1912). At present there are about 2,500 Moslems, 5,000 Jews and 700 Christians. The narrow, dirty streets of the old city are lined with little white houses of mud or stone, with few or no windows, cave-like dwellings into which man and beast enter together at the fall of night. The Jewish community is very old. Tiberias has been famed in Jewish history ever since the dispersion. At first the Jews refused to dwell there because it was built over a cemetery, but after the destruction of Jerusalem it became a center of Jewish learning and has remained ever since dedicated to Jewish study. During the second, third and fourth centuries it was the seat of the Rabbinic *Sanhedrin,* whence came the *Mishna* and the Palestinian *Talmud.* Many of its inhabitants are *Haluka* Jews. It has its *Yeshiboth* and *Talmud Torah* schools and numerous synagogues. South of the town is the tomb of Rabbi Meir, and to its north are the tombs of Maimonides and

Akibah. To the Romans, the town was known as Ammæas. The baths at its famous hot springs were first built by Herod Antipas. The present baths were built in 1833, and are again being reconstructed.

Situated at a junction of roads, north to Syria, east to Transjordania, and west to Haifa and the coast, Tiberias once held an important position as a trade centre. The improvement of traffic and the consequent development of the country have deprived Tiberias in part of this position, but it is still important as a distributor of goods for the villages in its surroundings. Its other source of revenue is the hot springs which brings hundreds of visitors to Tiberias every winter. Its great beauty also attracts many tourists. In recent years a number of modern hotels have taken advantage of this situation. The concession for the baths at the hot springs, granted in 1929 to a Jewish group, promises further development. A branch of the Anglo-Palestine Bank and of the Loan Bank, as well as a local cooperative, supply the necessary credit for trade.

### SAFED

Perched on a mountain in Galilee, 2,750 feet above sea-level, the holy city of Safed, amid beautiful scenery in a bracing climate and lovely to look upon from without, is within hopelessly dirty, dilapidated and sordid. Before the War there were about 20,000 inhabitants, of whom only 700 were Moslems, and from 400 to 500 Christians (Badaeker, 1912). The war reduced the Jewish population to only 3,000. Since then it has remained almost stationary.

The Jewish community dates from the 16th century, when Safed was a world-famed center of Rabbinism and the *Kabbala.* Twice, in 1769 and in 1837, the Jewish community suffered great loss of life from earthquakes, and plagues also made frequent and terrible ravages. Because of its Rabbinic history, the city is looked upon as holy and the Messiah is expected to appear there. The first Hebrew printing press in Palestine was established there in 1563 by the brothers Abraham and Isaac Ashkenazi.

Sir Moses Montefiore and Isaac Vita rebuilt houses and synagogues after 1837, but not their reconstruction nor yet the two well conducted schools supported by the *Alliance Israelite Universelle* and Baron de Rothschild have been able to revitalize the ancient, decrepit life. Many of the Jews are supported by the

*Haluka.* Their intense religious life has even its own local festivals and customs, such as the festival of Simeon ben Yohai which attracts many pilgrims. Among the younger element a breath of the new life and of Zionist outlook has entered. The Hadassah Hospital there has a department for tuberculosis. The healthful climate and the high situation with its marvelous views would make it an ideal spot for a sanatorium. At present the city's poor accommodations are a handicap to the tourist trade, although a small income is derived every year from summer visitors.

The income of the population is derived only partly from religious funds. A large part of the Jewish population earns its living by trade, particularly in dry goods, with the surrounding villages. It is noteworthy that the Safed merchant still buys his stock in Beirut and not in Haifa. Another part of the population is occupied in the manufacture of Safed cheese, some of which is being exported in salt brine to America. During the riots of 1929, Safed was partly destroyed; but a modern commercial center has been erected since and modern housing quarters on the top of the hill are contemplated. The tendency of the Jewish population to decrease may be suddenly reversed when the assets of Safed's beautiful physical situation are adequately appreciated.

### HEBRON

Hebron, the city of the Patriarchs, before the War had about 22,000 inhabitants, 20,000 Moslems, 2,000 Jews and practically no Christians (Baedeker, 1912). The War greatly reduced the number of Jews and after the riots of 1929 the entire Jewish population of about 1,000, left the town. Hebron lies twenty miles south of Jerusalem among the southern mountains of Judea, 3,400 feet above sea-level, in a narrow, well watered and very fertile valley. Grapes abound, from which the Jews used to make good wine, and almonds and apricots. The Moslems are extremely fanatical. The *Haram,* the area surrounding the legendary site of the Cave of Machpelah, is specially sacred and no non-Moslem "unbeliever" is permitted to go beyond the seventh step in its hoary wall. Within is an ancient mosque which is supposed to contain the graves of the Patriarchs. "You find fig trees and cactus hedges, and at the bottom of this shut-in valley there is this wonderful old city, with its tortuous narrow streets where no wheeled vehicle

can go, built over with arches, with houses five and six stories high, built of the beautiful yellowish lime stone of Judea." The high houses are quite exceptional; against the hillside, they give the city the effect of an amphitheatre. It is a typical Arab town, with gay vaulted bazaars where, among other things, are sold the blown glass-ware and sheep skin coats typical of the region.

Hebron had a Jewish ghetto whose gates in olden times were locked each night, confining the Jews within its walls. Fanaticism was so intense that they were practically prisoners in their ghetto. Almost all of them, pitifully poor, were dependent on the *Haluka.* The Slabotka *Yeshiba,* which had been established there a few years before the riots, with 130 students, among them a number of Americans, was bringing new life into the place. Then came the sudden catastrophe. Sixty-six Jews were massacred, men, women and children, and thirty or forty more wounded, among these, many were students of the *Yeshiba.* Eight of those killed were American boys.

The whole Jewish population then left the town. Only recently have Jews begun to live there again. There are now about thirty-five families, 175 persons. The first family returned in 1930, the others a year later. A hundred more are preparing to return. They are settling in an Arab quarter. The old ghetto is locked and its key is with the head of the Jewish Community. The place is unfit to live in and too full of dreadful memories. Some of the present inhabitants are craftsmen, able to support themselves, but economic conditions at present force practically all of them to receive outside support.

The economic future is by no means hopeless, although present social conditions militate against its development. Here, as in Safed, the beauty of the place and its situation should be an attraction for tourists and also for religious establishments which would be a source of income. However, a more living hope lies in the fertile surroundings. There is no reason why Jews should not acquire land near Hebron and help in the development of its agricultural possibilities.

### GAZA

Gaza, the southern outpost of Palestine, is an Arab city which trades with the Bedouin of the surrounding desert. It and Beersheba are the urban centres of this Arab life. Gaza is an oasis on

the outskirts of the desert, many-fountained, beautiful among its gardens and orchards, on the rim of the Mediterranean. The city has an Egyptian tinge, noticeable in the costumes of its inhabitants. It is on the railroad line between Egypt and Palestine.

### NABLUS

This is the ancient city of Shechem. Today its chief interest for Jews lies in the fact that it still has a Samaritan population of about 150 souls, the last remnant of this people. They look and dress like Arabs, but do not intermarry with them and still have their own peculiar religion and rites, based on the Bible, with a yearly sacrifice of the Pascal lamb at Passover on Mt. Gerizim. The city of Nablus is almost entirely Moslem and a seat of fanatical propaganda. It is here that meetings are held which pass resolutions against Zionism. It lies beautifully situated in the narrow pass between Mt. Gerizim and Mt. Abel.

### NAZARETH AND BETHLEHEM

These are two Christian cities whose chief importance derives from their relation to the story in the New Testament. They are inhabited largely by Christian Arabs and contain many churches and monasteries. Near Bethlehem is Rachel's Tomb, which has been acquired by Jews and is a place of Jewish pilgrimage. Recently several Jewish families have settled in Nazareth and its proximity to the Jewish settlements in the Emek should in time overcome the fanatical attitude of religious separatism. Both cities are marvelously situated.

# JEWISH IMMIGRATION SINCE THE WAR

BY ALEXANDER E. GINSBERG

## PALESTINE UNDER MILITARY ADMINISTRATION

In 1914 the estimated population of Palestine was 700,000, of which 80,000 to 90,000 were Jews. At the close of the War, it was estimated that there were about 55,000 Jews there. Although the country remained for several years thereafter under the control of the military authorities whose duty it was to maintain the status quo, nevertheless the immigration of Jews progressed, though on an unorganized basis. It is estimated that from the Armistice to September, 1920, about 2,000 Jews entered the country. This was probably due to the tradition of Eretz Israel which had existed for almost 2,000 years, reawakened by the Balfour Declaration.

On April 24, 1920, this Declaration was reaffirmed by the Supreme Council of the Allies at San Remo, and on July 1, 1920, the country was placed under a civil administration, with Sir Herbert Samuel as the first High Commissioner.

## IMMIGRATION ORDINANCE 1920

On September 1, 1920, the first Immigration Ordinance went into effect because "there had been . . . set flowing towards Palestine a tide of immigration, fed by a thousand streams which, if it had not been regulated, would have overwhelmed, economically, the small and undeveloped country toward which it was directed." Immigration therefore was to be regulated in accordance with the economic needs of the country. Entrance was authorized to the following categories:

A—Immigrants whose maintenance was guaranteed by the Zionist Organization.

B—Persons of independent means or persons who could produce evidence that they would become self-supporting.

C—Persons of religious occupation who had means of maintenance there.

D—Members of families of present residents.

The Zionist Organization was authorized to introduce into Palestine 16,500 immigrants during the first year, on condition that the Organization accepted responsibility for their maintenance for one year. Official figures indicate that during the period from September, 1920 to April 30, 1921, 8,030 immigrants entered Palestine under the auspices of the Zionist Organization and 2,031 came in independently.

### REGULATIONS OF 1921

On May 4, 1921, Jewish immigration was temporarily suspended because of the riots in Jaffa and the neighboring districts. Martial law was declared and the country was in a state of unrest for some time. A Commission of Inquiry under the chairmanship of the Chief Justice of Palestine, Sir Thomas Haycraft, was appointed to investigate the causes of the riots. But in any event, it was becoming increasingly evident that the flow of immigrants was greater than the country was able to absorb. The postponement of works of development due to the failure to promulgate the Mandate so that a loan could be issued, restricted the openings for employment far more narrowly than had been anticipated.

Immigration was again permitted on June 3, 1921, but the old categories were cancelled and new regulations were promulgated which were substantially different from those previously in force. The new categories were:

A—Travellers—Persons who do not intend to remain in Palestine for a period exceeding three months.

B—Persons of independent means who intend taking up permanent residence.

C—Members of professions who intend following their callings.

D—Wives, children and other persons wholly dependent on residents.

E—Persons who have a definite prospect of employment with specified employers or enterprises.

F—Persons of religious occupations, including the class of

Jews who have come to Palestine in recent years from religious motives and who can show means of maintenance there.

G—Returning residents.

In addition to creating the new categories in which were placed visitors, professionals and returning residents, the Government by these new regulations affected primarily persons for whom the Zionist Organization undertook responsibility, making not only a psychological change in their status by listing them fifth, but also requiring that these immigrants must virtually have been guaranteed specific employment before they could enter the country.

The regulation and control of immigration was in the hands of the Department of Immigration and Travel, which was provided for by the Ordinance of 1920. Under the same law, a Sub-Department of Labor was created, one of whose duties was to advise the Government on the state of the labor market "in order that definite statistics might be obtained for the regulation of immigration in accordance with the demands of labor." This regulation remained in force until the enactment of the Immigration Ordinance of 1925, which with certain amendments is still the law controlling immigration.

### APPROVAL OF MANDATE 1922-23

In 1922 the official policy of the Administration toward immigration was enunciated. It was not until July of 1922 that the Mandate for Palestine was finally approved by the Council of the League of Nations and September, 1923, when it was finally brought into operation. Article 6 of the Mandate deals directly with the problem of immigration and formulates the duty of the Administration which ". . . while ensuring that the rights and position of other sections of the population are not prejudiced, shall facilitate Jewish immigration under suitable conditions and shall encourage, in cooperation with the Jewish Agency referred to in Article 4, close settlement by Jews on the land, including State lands and waste lands not required for public purposes."

### ORDERS IN COUNCIL 1922-23

Shortly after the Mandate was approved, the Palestine Order in Council of 1922 was passed and provision was made for immi-

gration to conform with Article 6 of the Mandate. However, since the Legislative Council was never established, Article 84 never became effective.

### STATEMENT OF POLICY 1922. ABSORPTIVE CAPACITY

An exchange of correspondence between the Palestine-Arab Delegation and the British Colonial Office during the early part of 1922, prior to the approval of the Mandate by the Council for the League of Nations, led to a general statement of the British policy in Palestine. The question of immigration was isolated from all other problems affecting the country.

The Balfour Declaration, the White Paper had stated ". . . is not susceptible of change." The Jewish people were in Palestine "as of right and not on sufferance," was the interpretation His Majesty's Government placed upon the Declaration of 1917. "For the fulfillment of this policy, it is necessary that the Jewish community in Palestine should be able to increase its numbers by immigration. This immigration cannot be so great in volume as to exceed whatever may be the economic capacity of the country at the time to absorb new arrivals."

The Churchill "White Paper" containing this statement of policy was forwarded to both the Arab Delegation and the Zionist Organization. The latter was willing to cooperate with the Government and the Executive passed a resolution in which it assured ". . . His Majesty's Government that the activities of the Zionist Organization will be conducted in conformity with the policy therein set forth."

From this time on the test of "absorptive capacity" was applied. However, difficulties arose, the principal one being the definition of this term. The Jews held that "such capacity is not a fixed measure, but expands in relation to the success of Jewish settlement." Nor have they, as a matter of policy, agreed to any form of immigration restriction, but insisted that "every Jew . . . willing to invest his strength and means . . . is entitled to enter the country." The test of absorptive capacity is no basis for excluding Jews, for the Mandatory is obligated to facilitate the establishment of a Jewish Home. And the economic development of a country in the process of colonization is not stimulated from within, but from without; not by the human and financial forces

already in the country, but by those drawn from outside. Therefore the absorptive capacity cannot be measured by what has already been established, but rather by its creative potentialities. The British Government has therefore been criticised for its alleged policy of adapting the number of immigrants to the openings already available and not to the potentialities afforded by their additional investments.

### CONDITIONS 1923-25

During 1923, no pronounced change in Government policy was apparent. Although the tension was high, there were no serious disturbances. However, the European depression affected Palestine to a greater extent than during the previous year. This was reflected in decreased immigration with increased emigration.

During 1924, Palestine experienced an economic revival. The orange and tobacco yields were favorable and a considerable number of new industries had been commenced by Polish immigrants with capital and experience. Jewish immigration almost doubled and the number of these with independent means increased sixfold over the previous year. The attitude of the Administration was characterized by the following excerpt from the 1924 report: "There was a notably increased immigration of persons of independent means—merchants, shopkeepers and manufacturers. . . . By opening small industries and creating a demand for housing . . . this class of immigrant has made possible a greater influx of labor immigrants."

For purposes of economy an administrative change was made in April, 1924, when both the Department of Immigration and Travel and the Sub-Department of Labor were abolished and the control of immigration placed in the hands of a newly created Permits Section of the Secretariat. Passport control at the ports was placed in the hands of Customs officers. The Palestine Immigration Officer in Europe who had previously been stationed at Trieste was transferred to Warsaw, an official recognition that immigrants for the most part came from Poland and nearby countries.

### IMMIGRATION ORDINANCE 1925

1925 marked the peak of Jewish immigration into Palestine. Almost 35,000 persons entered the country, the majority of whom

were Jews, almost tripling the number who had entered the previous year. One-third of these were of the small capitalist class, with their dependents. Since the admission of workers is based upon the capital entering the country and upon opportunities for employment, the Government policy in practice has been to increase the number of certificates to this Class when there is a decided influx of capitalists with industrial experience.

In September, 1925 a new Immigration Ordinance came into force, which superseded the previous ones.

The policy of the Government was emphasized in that the Ordinance and Regulations were "framed on the principle that immigration to Palestine must be regulated by the economic capacity of the country." This Ordinance was the first legislation regarding immigration since the Mandate came into force and the position of the Jewish Agency formally stated. The category of persons of independent means was widened and given a more liberal interpretation. The B category, if liberally interpreted, would have given many persons, otherwise desirable but without the capital of LP 500, the right to enter the country.

## DEPRESSION OF 1926-27

What the attitude of the Administration would have been is uncertain, for in 1926, a severe trade depression began and a consequent restriction of labor immigrants. Only 553 small capitalists entered the country in 1926, approximately one-eighth the number who had entered in 1925. In 1927 the economic situation had become much worse and the Jewish settlement in Palestine suffered heavily. Conditions were aggravated by drought and earthquake. The Administration felt that "the need for further restriction of immigration, which in three years, 1924-26, had brought a new population of more than 50,000, was nevertheless evident." During this year immigration certificates were granted only to the wives and young children of residents, to children entering schools, to men of means and to a limited number of workers. For the first time since 1920, emigration exceeded immigration, with twice as many Jews leaving during 1927 as had entered that year.

### REPORT OF THE JOINT PALESTINE SURVEY COMMISSION

It was during this year that the Joint Palestine Survey Commission was created for the purpose of investigating the resources and possibilities of the country, and the results of their research were published in 1928. The expert who reported was Sir John Campbell, who had been vice-chairman of the Greek Refugee Settlement Commission. The program of the Palestine Zionist Executive was criticised as "not always having been prepared with due regard to actual facts and conditions," and as having "drawn conclusions of too sanguine a character." The report recommended a program under "which there shall always be maintained a reasonable balance between the number of immigrants admitted and the economic needs of the country." Further, it was recommended that the Labor Schedules be submitted three times a year instead of twice, with a more thorough selection of immigrants; and small capitalists qualified to undertake new enterprises should be encouraged, but that they should be given full and detailed information regarding prevailing conditions.

### IMMIGRATION ORDINANCE 1925-28

Economic conditions improved in 1928 and although Jewish immigration was less during the year than during 1927, there was also a decrease in the number of emigrants. For the first time since September, 1927, certificates were granted under the labor schedule, 600 being allowed the Jewish Agency for the half year ending March 31, 1929. Special visas were also granted 352 Jewish refugees from Russia.

### SHAW COMMISSION OF INQUIRY

Conditions in 1929 were even more favorable than in the previous year. Business and industry revived with a consequent increased immigration and decreased emigration. Certificates under the Labor Schedule were substantially increased. These improvements however were extinguished by the havoc and loss of confidence in the Administration caused by the Arab riots which occurred in August. A Commission under the Chairmanship of Sir Walter Shaw was set up to "inquire into the immediate causes

which led to the recent outbreak in Palestine and to make recommendations as to the steps necessary to avoid a recurrence." Among other matters, the Commission attempted to examine the practice and policy of the Palestine Government then in regard to immigration, taking into consideration the Balfour Declaration, Article 6 of the Mandate and Extracts from the White Paper of 1922. The majority of the Commission criticised the policy of the Government and concurred in Sir John Campbell's opinion that the crisis of 1927-28 was due "to the fact that immigrants have come into Palestine in excess of the economic absorbing power of the country." Further "among a large section of the Arab people of Palestine, there is a feeling of opposition to Jewish immigration, that this feeling is well founded in that it has its origin in the known results of excessive immigration in the past." In the conclusion the report recommends:

1—That the Government issue a clear declaration regarding regulation and control of immigration.
2—That the policy of the White Paper of 1922 be retained; the principles enunciated therein should be clearly restated and affirmed.
3—That the practice pursued be in actual conformity with the policy of the Government and repetition of excessive immigration of 1925 be avoided.
4—That non-Jewish interests be consulted upon immigration matters.
5—That the disposal of Labor certificates be more rigorously regulated, and the character and qualifications of immigrants subjected to rigid scrutiny by the Government instead of delegating that responsibility to the General Federation of Jewish Labor.

### SNELL RESERVATIONS

Mr. Harry Snell dissented from the conclusions and recommendations of the majority. He suggested not so much a change in policy by the Government as a change of attitude by the Arabs, pointing out that while the existing method of selecting immigrants was not entirely satisfactory, it was the only plan workable at that time, since the Zionist Executive assumed legal responsibility for the immigrants it sponsored.

### HOPE-SIMPSON COMMISSION

The Government felt that before a statement of policy could be granted, as recommended by the Shaw Commission, an expert inquiry would have to be made into the questions of immigration, land settlement and development. The British Secretary of State appointed Sir John Hope-Simpson to act as the Chairman of this Commission. Prior to his arrival in Palestine, immigration of workers was suspended as "solely an act of ordinary prudence" preceding the completion of the investigation.

The report was rendered on August 22, 1930, criticising the immigration policy, though not as severely as had the Shaw Commission, and recommending action regarding persons who had entered the country illegally, supervising more strictly the manner of allotting labor certificates and preparation of Labor Schedules, and that representatives of the Immigration Department be stationed in various cities from which immigration to Palestine is most common. Finally it was recommended that the Immigration office, which was a section of the Police Department, be constituted a separate department.

It has been universally accepted in responsible Jewish circles that both the Shaw and Simpson reports were not based on the proper study of existing facts and were consequently unfair to the Jewish position.

### WHITE PAPER 1930

As a result of the uncertainty raised by the Shaw Report regarding the Government's future intention, and with the Simpson report as a basis, the British Government issued the White Paper of 1930 (Passfield Paper), as a statement of its policy. The Government reaffirmed the 1922 statement and continued: "It will be observed that the principles enunciated above (regarding immigration) render it essential that in estimating the absorptive capacity of Palestine at any time, account should be taken of Arabs as well as Jewish unemployment in determining the rate at which immigration should be permitted. It is the intention of His Majesty's Government to take steps to ensure a more exact application of these principles in the future."

The Jewish community was greatly aroused by this statement and to them it seemed that Great Britain had repudiated the pledge

contained in the Balfour Declaration and had violated both the letter and the spirit of the Mandate. They felt that the Department of Immigration had consistently used its discretion contrary to the provisions in Article 6 of the Mandate through the enforcing of even minute regulations and in general restricting the entrance of Jews into the country. To criticise the Department for laxity in immigration regulation was an indication that a more severe attitude would follow, which would definitely discourage upbuilding the Jewish National Home. The Paper also suggested that there were grounds for the Arab suspicions that the economic depression was largely due to excessive Jewish immigration.

The Passfield Paper was regarded by the Jews "as a pronouncement which must ruthlessly curtail and hinder all work for the reconstruction of Palestine by the Jewish people." They have consistently maintained that Jewish immigration brings new capital into the country, expands the possibility of employment, both for Jews and Arabs, and creates an industrial and agricultural community which can absorb more newcomers and enable them to live under satisfactory conditions. The Passfield Paper, although it purported to reaffirm the Churchill Paper, was repudiated by Winston Churchill and was considered by prominent British statesmen as contrary to the whole spirit of the Balfour Declaration and of the statements made by successive Governments in the previous twelve years.

On February 14, 1931, the British Government issued a new statement of Palestine policy in the form of a letter from the Prime Minister to Dr. Chaim Weizmann, who had resigned from the presidency of the Jewish Agency in protest against the 1930 White Paper. In regard to the matter of immigration, the letter insists that the "obligation to facilitate Jewish immigration and to encourage the close settlement of Jews on the land remains a positive obligation of the Mandate and it can be fulfilled without prejudice to the rights and position of other sections of the population of Palestine." Control of immigration, the letter continues, "is not in any sense a departure from previous policy," nor would that policy restrict immigration completely "so long as it might prevent any Arab from obtaining employment." As before, the test would be "the absorptive capacity principle."

### PRESENT LAW REGARDING IMMIGRATION

The immigration ordinance which was enacted in 1925 with amendments, including regulations which were passed in 1928, 1930 and 1932, constitutes the present law. Prospective immigrants are placed into categories. In category "A" have been placed persons of independent means. The High Commissioner has defined these as follows:

(1) Those who are in possession of a capital of not less than LP 1000. Immigrants who intend to engage in agriculture or industry may include as part of the required capital, land and machinery.

(2) Members of a liberal profession who possess at least LP 500, provided the Chief Immigration Officer believes that there exists a need for additional members of the profession in question.

(3) Skilled tradesmen or craftsmen with a capital of not less than LP 250, provided that the economic capacity of the country will permit the absorption of such immigrants.

(4) Persons who have a secured income of not less than LP 4 a month.

(5) Persons who are in possession of not less than LP 500, if the Director of the Department of Immigration is satisfied that

(a) the settlement of such persons will not lead to the creation of undue competition in the field the immigrant proposes to enter.

(b) the capital is sufficient to assure a reasonable prospect of success.

(c) the immigrant is qualified and physically fit to follow that pursuit.

Category "B" includes persons whose maintenance is assured, and provides for:

(1) Orphans under 16.

(2) Persons of religious occupation.

(3) Students admitted to educational institutions.

Category "C" includes those persons who have a definite prospect of employment in Palestine. It is under this classification

that the Labor Schedules are issued, the procedure being substantially as follows:

The Jewish Agency submits, twice a year, a tentative schedule to the Immigration Department, in which it states what it believes would be a proper number of wage earners the country is capable of absorbing, in view of the existing state of the demand for labor and the outlook for the ensuing six months. The schedule is discussed and the Department of Immigration of the Palestine Government then makes its recommendations to the High Commissioner. It is on the basis of this recommendation that a schedule for the next six months is approved. After the Immigration Department deducts a certain proportion of certificates for the purpose of issuing them to tourists who apply for permission to remain in the country permanently the balance of the certificates is made available to the Agency for distribution as it deems most advisable. The actual selection of the individual immigrants and the allocation of the certificates to the various countries is left to the Agency, which has Palestine offices in the various countries from which the emigrants come. For the six months from April to October 1933 the Agency applied for 15,000 certificates, and a schedule recommending the admission of 5,500 was allowed. An additional 1,000 certificates were secured for the use of German Jews, who were planning to emigrate to Palestine.

Category "D" consists of dependents of permanent residents or of immigrants belonging to categories A, B (2) and C.

In the Palestine Gazette of August 1, 1932, a new Immigration Ordinance was published, but because of opposition has not yet been enacted as a law. This new ordinance does not differ essentially from the existing ones, but is in effect a codification of existing practice. The law has however been extended by the inclusion of discretionary clauses. In Jewish circles, it is contended that extensive arbitrary and discretionary powers are generally applied for restrictive purposes.

### IMMIGRATION AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Article 22 of the Covenant of the League provides for the rendition by each mandatory of an annual report to the Council.

It further provides for a permanent Commission to receive and examine the annual reports and to advise the Council "on all matters relating to the observance of the mandates." Great Britain rendered its first report at the fifth session of the Permanent Mandates Commission held at Geneva in October 1924, the then High Commissioner, Sir Herbert Samuel, representing the Administration. Annual reports have been submitted since that date. The Seventeenth Extraordinary Session of the Commission was devoted exclusively to Palestine since the meeting had been specially called as a result of the 1929 disturbances. The British Administration was criticised because of its too restrictive conception of "absorptive capacity," and it was suggested that the Mandatory adopt a more active policy to develop the capacity to receive and absorb immigrants in larger numbers, instead of leaving the entire burden to the Jewish Agency.

At the last meeting (22nd Session) of the Commission, the High Commissioner was of the opinion that the country could absorb 6,000 additional labor immigrants as compared to 2,600 admitted the previous year.

| | Immigration | | | Emigration | | | Excess of Jewish Immigration over Emigration |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Date | Jews | Christians | Mohammedans | Jews | Christians | Mohammedans | |
| 1920 | c10,000 | — | — | c1,300 | 900 | 800 | 8,700 |
| 1921 | c 9,900 | — | — | c1,200 | 700 | 700 | 8,700 |
| 1922 | 7,844 | 224 | 60 | 1,503 | 716 | 720 | 6,341 |
| 1923 | 7,421 | 402 | 168 | 3,466 | 713 | 768 | 3,955 |
| 1924 | 12,856 | 510 | 187 | 2,073 | 263 | 200 | 10,819 |
| 1925 | 33,801 | 741 | 99 | 2,151 | 1,201 | 748 | 31,650 |
| 1926 | 13,081 | 611 | 218 | 7,365 | 1,505 | 559 | 5,716 |
| 1927 | 2,713 | 758 | 124 | 5,071 | 813 | 1,094 | **2,358 |
| 1928 | 2,178 | 710 | 198 | 2,168 | 547 | 407 | 10 |
| 1929 | 5,249 | 1,117 | 200 | 1,746 | 792 | 297 | 3,503 |
| 1930 | 4,944 | 1,296 | 193 | 1,679 | 798 | 526 | 3,265 |
| 1931 | 4,075 | 1,245 | 213 | 666 | 573 | 107 | 3,409 |
| 1932 | 9,553 | *1736 | | | | | |

* Separate figures not available.
c=exact figures not available.
** Excess of emigration over immigration.

### PRESENT BRITISH POLICY

Under the present administration there has been a tendency on the part of officials to cooperate with the Jewish Agency to a greater extent than previously. It is hoped that in the future an even more liberal attitude will be followed in the construction of the existing legislation.

It is urged that the Government meet with accredited Jewish representatives and a new immigration ordinance and regulations be enacted which would be based on a liberal interpretation of the Mandatories obligation under the terms of the Mandates: "to secure the establishment of the Jewish National Home" facilitating Jewish immigration and encouraging close settlement by Jews on the land.

# NEIGHBORS: THE JEWS AND ARABS

BY A PALESTINIAN

## FACTORS IN THE NATIONAL PROBLEM

It is useless and misleading to study the Jewish-Arab national problem in Palestine apart from the social structure of the country, on the land and in the villages and towns. For the national problem is composed of many factors and the coming of Jews to Palestine produces not only a new and difficult contact between two peoples, but also emphasizes the impact of the modern economic system on a feudal society. The modernization of Palestine, as part of the Near East, was inevitable; it has been vastly accelerated by the Jews, and the resulting clash provides the basis for a grouping of classes in whose conflicting interests we must look for the character of the so-called nationalist struggle.

Palestine is today in a period of transition from an old to a new economic system and what looked like a racial problem on the surface is revealing itself gradually as a regrouping of forces occurring through the entire country. The "lower classes," the *fellah* and the worker, are emerging into the social scene and a certain community of interest cuts across racial divisions, so that national jealousy and hatred begin to lose their meaning in the face of realities.

## ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CONDITION OF THE FELLAH

The bulk of the Arab population of Palestine lives on agriculture, and the *fellaheen* (peasants) form 60% of the population.

In the Arab village, which is the economic basis of Arab life, the great problem is the distribution of land. All studies of the land problem lead to one basic fact: the lion's share of the land is in the hands of the great landed proprietors.

M. Delbes, the Director of the Agricultural Station in Latakuieh, Syria, and an authority on agricultural problems of the Near East, describes the situation as follows:

"Among the reasons for the *fellah's* backwardness, social factors play a role similar to and, it may even be said, greater in importance than technical conditions. While indeed it may be possible in a comparatively short time to spread knowledge of modern agricultural methods, it is far more difficult to change the social conditions of the tiller of the ground and the land-ownership regime under which he lives. One of the main present obstacles to agricultural advance is to be found in the existing system of land-tenure. The owners of large landed property, families or groups of families, take little if any interest in the agricultural development of their lands. . . . The *fellaheen* who work these lands live in a state comparable to that of the serfs under the Carolingian dynasty. Hardly 20% of the gross produce of the soil remains to the cultivator. It may almost be said that landlords here are engaged not in exploiting the land but those who cultivate it. . . . As under the existing system of taxation no charge is levied on uncultivated lands, landlords are able without loss to themselves to leave large areas unused."

According to one authority, who wrote in 1927, 50% of the land in Judea and 80% of the land in Galilee does not belong to the peasants who work it. From more recent investigations it is known that 250 leading families own 4,143,000 dunams of land, almost as much as is held by the entire Arab peasantry.

The story of the accumulation of these huge estates is one of mortgages, usury, and foreclosures. The *fellah* was always short of money, either for seeding-grain, for replacement of cattle, or for necessities he did not grow on the soil. The landlord and the usurer were there to supply it at exorbitant rates.

The *fellah* pays as much as 34% of the rental value of his property in taxes. As there are no cheap credit facilities in the country, and as the landlords and the money-lenders naturally oppose the founding of such facilities, the *fellah* must borrow at a ruinous rate of interest. The rate ranges from 30% to 60%, but 50% for three months is not unusual. Under these circumstances it was inevitable that large numbers of the peasantry should be forced from the land.

As to those who have no land of their own, the conditions under which they work for their landlords reduce them to a standard of living which is scarcely comprehensible in the Western

world. Thirty per cent of the gross returns go to the landlord. From the remainder, the *fellah* must pay his taxes, provide for himself and his family, and save enough grain for sowing.

The conditions at best and at worst of the Arab peasant are described as follows:

"Not every *fellah* performs hard labor. The heads of family groups endeavor to free themselves from the obligations of work. The well-to-do arrange their farming in such a way as to let the work be done by a *Harat* (hired workman). This does not apply to the women, who work most laboriously all the days of the year, the wives of the *Sheiks* forming no exception. The woman knows no Sabbath. The sphere of her work is very extensive. It includes the household work, looking after the children, cleaning the yard, bringing in straw, gathering herbs in the field for cooking, plucking herbs for feeding the cattle, bringing supplies from the town, carrying the produce of the house to the market of the neighboring town, gleaning, harvesting, and so forth. In many respects the woman performs the functions of a working animal whether when she goes upright as a palm with a pitcher of water or a basket of home produce on her head, or when she goes crouching under the load of bundles of herbs and gleanings from the field on her shoulder. Her working day begins with midnight. The infant that is bound to her gives her no respite. Sucklings and infants yet in the cradle are borne out to the fields on their mother's head and shoulders." *

. . . "Most milling of grain is done as in Biblical days, between handworked millstones. The bread consists of a flat, dark cake of durrah flour. And the general tone of life is of a piece with these indices.

"In dirty malodorous lodgings of baked mud covered with straw, serving in the rainy season for cattle and human beings, the fires are built for cooking and baking; the smoke whirls round till it escapes at the windows. It blackens the walls and attacks the eyes of the inmates. Washing is seldom done. One *tarboush* (head cover), dirty and sweaty, lasts an individual for years. An *abaya* (cloak) is used for decades, and sometimes becomes a family heirloom. Bugs, cockroaches, and other insects contaminate clothes and dwelling alike, and the stink of refuse fills the corners. There

* *The Fellah's Farm,* by I. Elazari-Volcani.

are no sanitary arrangements even of the most elementary kind. . . . The entire picture is one of such revolting wretchedness that the visitor who wanders through an Arab village almost begins to understand why these villagers are looked upon by wealthy Arabs as a sort of sub-human species." . . .*

### INFLUENCE OF JEWISH AGRICULTURAL SETTLEMENT

The conscious revolt of the Arab peasantry against these degrading conditions received a strong impetus from the influx of Jews into the country. For the first time Arab peasants saw workers on the soil, who, whatever their poverty might be, had the status of human beings and could hope to improve their condition. But even before the coming en masse of the modern Jewish worker, Jewish agricultural work had an awakening effect on Arab life on the soil. In the vicinity of Jewish settlements Arab peasants began to acquire their initial capital for a fresh start, partly by sale of produce to the Jews, partly by labor in the Jewish groves, and, in some cases, by the sale of part of their land at high prices. Arab land workers saw the hope of freeing themselves from their rapacious usurers. They saw a standard of life which, poor as it would appear to a European or American, was immeasurably raised above their own lot. In general the coming of this fresh, vigorous, and enterprising element into the country has shaken the Arab land-workers out of their state of lethargy and despair, and made them more conscious in their demands for tolerable living conditions. And thus, whatever advantage the Arab landlord may have derived from selling land to the Jews, he felt he had lost more by the new spirit which had arisen among the peasantry. Thus the opposition of the big landed families among the Arabs to Zionism is in the first line a social and not a national phenomenon.

### ARAB AND JEWISH LABOR, CONFLICT AND SOLUTION

In the towns of Palestine a similar array of opposing forces, similarly hiding under false names, may be observed.

In Palestine today there is a drift from the country to the towns. This process, which took place so markedly in Europe

* *On the Rim of the Wilderness*, by Maurice Samuel.

with the coming of the modern era, is the accompaniment of the gradual industrialization of the country on the one hand and the conditions on the land as described above. As in Europe with the rise of industrialism, the wage earning class, recruited from the peasantry, is savagely exploited. Labor legislation is in its infancy and existing laws are not enforced. Little protection is afforded to working children and to women, and the very low rate of pay is kept low by the almost unlimited labor supply of the villages.

And thus, in the quarry and in the orange grove, on the railways and in the building trades, the Jewish laborer is faced with a competitor who can subsist on one-half or one-third of what he must have.

To this difficult situation the Jewish worker proposed the only solution possible. *The standard of life of the Arab workers had to be raised.* It had to be brought within reaching distance of the European, if not of the American, concept of a human subsistence.

And this purpose could be achieved only by one method: by fostering trade-unionism among the Arabs.

In the year 1920, the first effort was made to found a railway, postal, and telegraph Workers' Union composed of Jews and Arabs. After many vicissitudes this union was reorganized in 1931 on a definite international basis, providing that Jewish workers affiliate as a section with the General Federation of Jewish Labor in Palestine. In 1925 the Federation of Jewish Labor began to publish a labor paper in Arabic, "*Ittihad el Ummal,*" the first journal of its kind in the Arabic language. Educational courses for Arab workers were started and conducted at Haifa, and a club of Arab workers was established there.

### OPPOSITION OF THE ARAB RULING CLASSES

These modest beginnings met with bitter opposition on the part of the ruling classes of the Arab people. A typical instance of a clash of Arab trade unionism with the dominant forces of Arab society was the carpenters' strike in Haifa in 1925.

One hundred Arab carpenters employed in Arab workshops struck for an eight-hour day, increase in pay, and pay every week instead of at delayed intervals. Former conditions of employment had been ten hours among German employers, twelve to fourteen

among Arab employers. With the help of the Jewish Federation of Labor, successful pickets were organized and the "scabs" brought from Nazareth and Acre were induced to return.

The employers canvassed the parents and relatives of the workers, asking them to induce the strikers to return. The leading Arab paper, "El Carmel," launched the slogan: "Arabs ought to work twelve hours a day so as to compete with the Zionists and conquer them."

In spite of the concerted action of employers, press and ecclesiastics, and the pressure of public opinion unfavorable to the strike, it ended with a partial victory for the workers, the working day being fixed at nine hours.

However, the barriers of racial and nationalist prejudice between Arab and Jewish labor are still strong and the position of those who profit from this situation is well entrenched. The buttresses of nationalist prejudice were strengthened by the events of 1929. The sway of the Mufti and his group, of feudal and bourgeois factors, over the masses were strengthened and attention has been diverted from the social sore by the fear of the "external enemy." The Mufti is the official head of the Moslems of Palestine, their religious head, and receives a subsidy from the British Government despite the fact that after the riots of 1920 he was condemned to imprisonment for his participation in them. Part of his political stock-in-trade is anti-Zionism, which he uses to strengthen his own position whenever it is threatened by the Opposition in that he unites all opposition with propaganda against the Jews. All feudal forces in Palestine, the reactionary nationalists, are at present anti-Zionist; it is a political weapon often used in the feudal strife of family politics. It is not as nationalists but as feudal lords that they oppose Zionism; what they really fear is the actual danger that the Zionists will improve the condition of their serfs and so free them from the feudal yoke. The rich Arab land owner is divided between desire to sell his land profitably to the Jews and to keep his peasant-serfs in their place. Hence he often acts in accordance with this conflict, preaching one thing and practising another. Educational activities among the Arabs of Palestine, the student bodies and "Youth Movement" and even the village school, are now tainted with this hatred of Zionists. No doubt among the learned and the faithful, deeper spiritual

forces exist, but they do not now come to expression in Palestinian public life.

The Arab landlord and priest have their vested interest in the political and social ignorance and apathy of the Arab masses. The press, usually corrupt, is the creature of the ruling classes. A typical statement of the attitude which the press takes toward the betterment of conditions among the Arab masses is the following, from the Arab nationalist publication "El Jezira": "There is no injustice when the *fellah* who leases his land from the owner pays one-third of the crop as rent. What is unjust is the heavy burden of taxation."

The Arab press, in and out of season, appeals to Arab workers and *fellaheen* to oppose Zionism on patriotic grounds. The riots of 1929 were precipitated by the Arab ruling classes in a supreme effort (which, as we have seen, was successful only for a short time) to deflect the attention of the Arab masses from the real character of the struggle. But this strategy cannot be successful forever.

### ARAB-JEWISH COOPERATION

In the summer of 1931, for instance, the Arab-Jewish Union of Railway, Postal, and Telegraph Workers was reorganized. Not long after the 1929 riots, Jewish and Arab minor employees of the Government united in an International Federation. And in July, 1930, the Arab workers of Jaffa issued the following proclamation:

"Do not look far afield. Here are the Jewish workers in front of you. Every one of them works eight hours a day and receives more pay than the Arab worker. They and their families receive free medical help. Do you think the Jewish employer is better than the Arab? Far from it. The reason is that the Jewish workers have known how to protect their rights. They formed a union which they all joined and in this way they have risen to their present stage. Are we, the Arab workmen, inferior to the Jews? Do we not deserve that our rights, too, be recognized?"

In November, 1931, after lengthy fruitless negotiations with the Government in regard to the heavy taxes and customs duties which weigh down automobile traffic in Palestine, the Jewish and Arab chauffeurs organized a joint automobile strike which lasted for an entire week, shutting down traffic entirely, and which was

consummated without a single instance of violence or a break in discipline. Many either feared or hoped that such an event might lead to an Arab-Jewish outbreak. But, however meagre the results of the strike in winning concessions from the Government, it was a complete success as a demonstration of Arab-Jewish labor solidarity.

The alliance of the Arab *fellah* and Arab worker with the Jewish worker is, for the Jewish masses, not only a question of social solidarity, but a matter of economic necessity. For the Jews the betterment of conditions among the Arab masses and their liberation from the appalling yoke of their hereditary rulers, is of vital importance. The Jewish worker will not be able to obtain sufficient land for his settlement as long as hundreds of dunams are required by an Arab family, not for its support, but largely to maintain the affluence of the landlord and the usurer. He will be hampered in his constructive colonization work by the fact that extensive areas are needed by *fellaheen* for their primitive farming owing to the lack of technical knowledge. What is more, the Jewish settler cannot sell his produce at an adequate price if the *fellah* is able to undercut him on the market. The Jewish worker will not be able to maintain a decent standard of living, Jewish immigration will be handicapped, and the development of the country as a whole retarded as long as thousands of impoverished *fellaheen* will always be ready to leave their holdings and compete at starvation rates on the labor market.

Agrarian reform, release of the *fellah* from the heavy burden of indebtedness, liberation from oppression, the raising of his standard of living, these benefits are in direct line with Jewish necessity.

Nor can Jewish or any other industry prosper in the country without a decent home market. This market is of course dependent on the purchasing capacity of Arabs and Jews; and on the part of the Arabs it is very low, being proportionately a fraction of Jewish expenditure.

The position of the Jews in Palestine differs fundamentally from any other group which has hitherto been engaged in colonization work in a partly inhabited country. For Jewish colonization is not part of an imperialist scheme of exploitation. Englishmen do not migrate to Kenya, or Frenchmen to Morocco, with a view to becoming tillers of the land and workers. What they look for

is the exploitation of cheap labor in agriculture and industry. Economic exploitation and political domination combine to keep the natives at the lowest possible level of subsistence and, as a rule, the best means toward this end is an alliance between the conquering newcomers and the feudal lords on the spot.

But the Jews come to Palestine for the purpose of colonization and not of exploitation. Their interests are bound up with the general prosperity of the country. They are anxious to create their own working class. Harmony with the working class of the native population is to the Jewish worker a necessity. It is not possible to conceive of a stable country in which there are two levels of resident population, the one always a threat to the livelihood of the other.

A Jewish *Yishub* consisting only of upper classes, of landowners or capitalists, would be swept away by the first historic storm, as the English landlords were in Ireland and the German Barons in the Baltic countries. The maintenance of a permanent class division between Jews and Arabs would mean that every economic conflict would be intensified by taking on a national character, and every national prejudice would be further embittered by economic hostility. The Jewish people in Palestine must therefore find its way with the indigenous population toward the development of the country as a whole.

## THE BEDOUIN ARAB

The nomad Bedouin tribes, many of them crossing the Jordan into Palestine only at certain times of the year to pasture their herds, others as nearly "settled" in Palestine as permanent tent-dwellers can be, may be called the real Arabs, racially, as distinguished from the mixed tribes of the peasantry. They are desert free-lances, "nobler" in a primitive sense than the *Fellaheen.* In illiteracy and complete ignorance of and indifference to the rules of hygiene and cleanliness they equal the *Fellah.* They dwell in black goat-skin tents together with their livestock and at night do not remove their clothing. The *Fellah* has learnt that theft and murder are wrong; he practises them with a bad conscience. To the Bedu Arab they are part of his desert mores, when practised according to the rules of the game. We should temper our horror of his standards with the knowledge that all peoples, including

every modern western nation, have legal forms of theft and murder. An understanding of the Bedu's mentality is a prerequisite to dealings with him.

Desert life and needs have bred in the Bedouin, together with a complete indifference to life, a strict code of hospitality and kindness to guests that is generous out of all proportion to their resources. Even the rules of blood-vengeance are subordinated to the immunity of the guest. He may afterwards be chased and killed, but he must not be touched within the camp. In a blood feud, a rider was chased on horseback by a troop of wild riders. Reaching a gully, his mare fell and broke her leg. The first rider who caught up with him did not kill him, but instead gave him his horse to ride, so that he might be killed in fair chase and not when he had fallen through an accident.

The relation of the Bedouin to their women, who are married at puberty, may be understood through the following proverb and its explanation: Sons are a blessing, but daughters are a curse. Why? Sons bring blessings upon a house, because when a son marries, the wife's family blesses his family. But when a man curses his wife—and who does not?—he always curses her family.

The nomad Bedouin live by their herds and flocks as breeders of cattle, horses, sheep, goats, and camels, but the transition to agriculture is seen in Palestine, where the semi-settled Bedouin sometimes grow certain crops. Also, in the vicinity of Jewish settlement, they become day laborers. Many are employed in this way. The problem of compensating them for the pasture land which they are bound to lose when wild stretches of desert are irrigated for intensive cultivation should not be a difficult one with good will to solve it. This cannot be left entirely to chance and to private individuals of whose good will there is no guarantee. It is a problem for the cooperation of the Arabs with the organized Jewish Community, the Jewish Agency and the Government of the country.

### ATTITUDE OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT

It must be noted that political development can be hastened or retarded by the third group in Palestine, the British Government, and all indications point to the simple fact that the British in Palestine are not anxious to see the union of Arabs and Jews

consummated. The Government is suspicious of every *rapprochement.* Innocent contacts, such as lectures held in common, social gatherings, fraternization of workers, the formation of a joint Jewish-Arab workers' social club, are discouraged and treated with an open hostility which, in the case of the Arabs more than the Jews, frightens off friendly approaches.

The following extracts from *Davar,* the Labor Daily, have never been refuted or denied:

"Besides the sworn Arab agitators, Government officials have also interfered with efforts at approach between Jews and Arabs. In the Chronicle of the *Emek* for December, 1930, it is related in connection with the plague of field mice: The Government did not answer the joint (Jewish-Arab) memorandum that was presented to it, but 'after the memorandum was presented, the Government official visited the village Arabs who had signed it and proved to them, in regard to their co-operation with the Jews, that the Government would in any case have looked after them, and that through their joint action they only harm themselves and impair that portion of help which the Government had in mind to give them.' The Chronicle closes with the demand for a Government investigation. However, the Government has given no information to the public in regard to this open act of interference.

"The one constructive action of the Central Government in furthering co-operation of all sections of the Palestinian population was the appointment of the Agricultural Council, on which Jews equal the other inhabitants."—MICHAEL ASAF.

"One Friday evening the club of the *Poale Zion* in Jerusalem arranged a party for its members, and among the guests were also Arabs, invited by their Jewish comrades in work. When they were all walking home late at night after the party, . . . policemen stopped the group and arrested the two Arab workmen who happened to be with them. In the report on the arrest it is written that the reason for it was their being found walking with Jews. This is not the first time that Arab workmen have been arrested for being found in the company of Jewish workmen."—J. KOSHNIR.

The political abuses which have prevailed in the country till now, of which the greatest is the practical disfranchisement of the Arab peasantry and working class, have not been amended. In

addition, the system of elections to municipalities is such as to encourage friction between the Jewish and Arab communities.

This policy of "divide and rule" cannot, however, prevent the gradual consolidation of Arab with Jewish interests. For the former is artificially maintained, while the latter is organically bound up with the historic forces in the country. It is the omnipresent social factors which will determine the history of the country and not the political decisions which ignore them.

# PALESTINE SINCE THE WORLD WAR

BY DR. THEODOR ZLOCISTI

Eleven days before the Armistice, Turkey had already surrendered whatever was left to surrender, thus putting an end to the four hundred year old subjection which had devastated the soil of Palestine and debased its population. But this "peace" which followed the Armistice shook the land to its very foundations and the slavery which had fused suffering with degradation burst its bounds to find embodiment in the madness of national and religious jealousies. It was not only that moment which sought a glorious future in the dishonored land. The very past rose to demand its rights. And liberation, far from bringing freedom, became the incentive to a passionate and bitter struggle.

This has been the key-note of the last thirteen years, even though at the same time, work went on, hampered and feverish, but always going forward.

The work to be done was in line with the terms of the Balfour Declaration which, however, remained only a promise. Its two parts, the one agreeing to help the Jewish people establish a National Home in Palestine, the other protecting the civil and religious rights of the non-Jewish communities, by the very elasticity of their formulation, caused a constant change in the point of emphasis from one side to the other. But the decisive role was played, not by the opinions and feelings of leading persons nor the recognition of any achievements, but by considerations of expediency reaching far beyond the confines of Palestine.

The Declaration, which was based no less upon statesmanlike foresight than upon idealism, probably met opposition within Government circles from the first. Certainly it seemed questionable, if not actually objectionable, to the army headquarters on the Egyptian-Palestinian front, and not a single word was accorded the Balfour Declaration when the keys of Jerusalem were taken over nor when the corner-stone of the University was laid in the face of active opposition by the Military. At first, the leaders of the

Jewish people as well as Palestine Jewry, acted as if they understood this silence. Perhaps it could not be otherwise, they believed, attempting to console themselves. Did not the Turks still hold Northern Palestine? For many months the progress of the British troops had been interrupted because a part of the Egyptian Expeditionary Forces had been sent to the Western Front where the final outcome of the war would necessarily be staged. Before the Turks had been completely driven out of Palestine and Syria, it might be wise to spare Arab sensibilities even the most delicate hints. As a matter of fact, the Palestinian Arabs had taken no real part in the active warfare, while Palestinian Jewry, numbering only about 20,000, had given 1,000 young volunteers to the Fortieth Royal Fusiliers. The participation of King Hussein and his mobile bands was used largely for the final stages of the war and the protracted guerilla warfare along the far-flung Eastern front. This cooperation was bought by the English, through the activities of Col. Lawrence, not only with gold, but with high promises of a greater Arabia.

The points agreed upon with the British representative, Sir Henry MacMahon, subsequently became the cause of impassioned discussions. Whether or not the territory lying west of the Damascus-Homs-Hama-Aleppo line, including Palestine, was to lie outside an Arab state or federation of states, the Chiefs of the Army of Occupation never mentioned the Balfour Declaration. This silence was not merely a matter of necessary tactics; it was a political attitude. And this, the Jews quickly perceived. The Zionist Commission, which arrived in the country on April 4th, 1918, and which was at first cordially received, soon noticed that even their smallest demands met with increasing opposition on the part of the higher officials, while the opposition of the lesser officials was even more marked. The Communiqué of the War Ministry, dated August 23rd, which mentioned the conquest of Transjordan as having been achieved with the participation of the Jewish troops, was published in Palestine with this item omitted. Moreover, the proclamation of the Commander-in-Chief at the beginning of the Armistice with Turkey confined itself to the mention of the establishment of National Governments and administrations which were to derive their authority from the initiative and free choice of the native population. At the same time, it described the ideal role to be played by the Allied Powers in the economic and cul-

tural development of the countries, somewhat in the spirit of what was later formulated in international law as a Mandate. But there was no word of the peculiar position of Palestine nor of the link of the Jewish people with it which was henceforth to be regarded as a legitimate claim. Even those who would not admit it, could no longer delude themselves into any uncertainty as to the stand of the Military Administration. In a word, it was against the plan for a Jewish National Home. It was not an unreasoning anti-Semitism, although the British colonial officials, accustomed to dealing with more or less primitive natives, found the Jews with their human, sociological, and cultural peculiarities difficult and hence uncongenial. Of paramount importance to them was the distinctively English interpretation of the requirements of the British Empire. There was also the unwillingness to harass the exhausted army with disturbing features of any sort. The result was that this anti-Jewish attitude was translated into increasingly harsh acts. In this turgid atmosphere, Jewish National ambitions appeared monstrously distorted. Only a few days after peace had been concluded, Arab delegations appeared in Jaffa and Jerusalem demanding the strict prohibition of any and all Jewish immigration.

Through 1919, until the Spring of 1920, the Jewish population suffered severely, but impelled by national aspirations and economic need, encouraged by the representation of Allied statesmen, they at least believed that they were returning to their homeland. The Balfour Declaration created great political activity both in London and Paris. The Zionist leaders were summoned before the Peace Commission and presented their case successfully. Allied states in increasing numbers followed the example of France and Italy in endorsing the Declaration. Woodrow Wilson had published a message to this same effect. Draft Mandates prepared by the British Foreign Office were laid before the Zionists as a basis for negotiations on August 4, 1919, following upon Justice Louis D. Brandeis' visit to Palestine in July of that year. Lord Balfour sent detailed instructions to Palestine. These made it abundantly clear that no agitation among the Arabs could make the Allies swerve from their decision to establish a Jewish National Home in Palestine. It was probably as a result of many and well-founded complaints that the chiefs of the Military Administration succeeded each other so rapidly. General Money, an outspoken anti-Jew, preceded Sir Harry Watson of more discreet disposition, who in turn made

place for Allenby's Chief of Staff, Sir Louis Boles, a typical army man who persistently regarded the participation of civilians in the administration of British interests as a disaster.

But the Arabs felt that the system was continuing and they became bolder in secretly inciting the masses to noisy demonstrations. Arab processions took place both in Jerusalem and Jaffa, on February 27th and March 7th, 1920. The officials of the Administration were not disturbed by banners with offensive inscriptions nor by blood-thirsty speeches. In April, scarcely a month later, the Nebi Mussa festival being inadequately controlled, there was the first explosion. In the old city of Jerusalem, the rioting lasted three days. A military cordon kept the district sealed and prevented the Haganah, the Jewish self-defense, from rushing to the rescue. What remained of the Jewish regiments was detained in camp at Sarafend. Some of the Arab police actually engaged in plunder and murder. The result of this riot was six dead and one hundred and sixty wounded. The leaders of the Haganah were sentenced to fifteen years hard labor. The first of these was Jabotinsky,* who had warned of impending disaster without avail. On the other hand, the Arab instigators were treated generously, as for instance, Aref el Aref and Haj Amin el Husseini. Shortly before these occurrences, Bedouins under orders from Damascus had besieged Metulla and Tel Hai, where Captain Trumpeldor met his death.

However, these dreadful events at least served to clarify the situation. The obstacle to Jewish hopes was shown to be the Sykes-Picot treaty, which had been drawn up by France and England in 1916 under the pressure of war conditions. This treaty divided Syria and Palestine into three sections. The northernmost one, including the Litany, the upper Jordan and the Yarmuk, was to go to France; Haifa and Acre, being the outlets of Mesopotamia, were marked out for England. The south, including the Holy Places, was to be internationalized. But when Russia withdrew from the Entente, the treaty lost its intrinsic significance.

More than a year after the Occupation, there were still four different administrations in the Occupied Territory under British command and with British officials. In Palestine the position was simpler due to the uniform political and military administration. But here too, the system was complicated.

* These sentences were afterward remitted.—Editor.

This system led to continual friction between France and England. Moreover, it engendered a fevered dream of an Arab world state in the minds of the population which century-long Turkish oppression had rendered wholly unprepared. Indeed, determined Syrian Nationalists called a Constituent Assembly to put the Emir Feisal on the throne of the new Kingdom of Syria, of which the Lebanon and Palestine were to form part. After a few days of rule, Feisal was compelled to flee to Haifa. There he received an "invitation" to come to Europe. Arab nationalists were determined to make the Balfour Declaration appear a mere manœuvre dictated by war necessities. Hence all negotiations with the Jews were scornfully declined. Probably this wave of nationalism had strengthened Feisal's somewhat vague but not really hostile attitude to the Jews.

Of the small group of Arab leaders only a few were inspired by purely idealistic nationalism. Their attitude grew increasingly remote from reality, chiefly because of the protracted peace parleys with Turkey, which was making the most of the differences of opinion prevailing among the Powers. It was only in August, 1920, that the Turkish representatives were shown the draft treaty signed in Sèvres, in which there was a reference to the Balfour Declaration. This treaty, considerably modified and colored by the Turkish mentality, was formally signed three years later in Lausanne, and ratified in 1924, six years after the War.

The fundamental questions of principal (Balfour Declaration, Mandate, Mandatory Boundaries) had not yet been definitely settled. The events of the Spring of 1920 so informed the world. Perhaps because they had more weighty matters in hand, the statesmen had given no real attention to Eastern affairs. Now, at the end of April 1920, the main lines of the treaty with Turkey were fixed at San Remo and the Balfour Declaration became a part of the Mandate, which England alone was to administer in Palestine. But even before the consent of the House of Commons had been obtained and before the Council of the League of Nations had given its final consent in London, on July 4th, 1922, it had already been decided in San Remo that the Military Administration of Palestine was to be replaced by a Civil Administration.

Sir Herbert Samuel was appointed first High Commissioner. Already for some years he had proved himself a wise councillor to Dr. Chaim Weizmann, the leader of the Zionist Organization.

In the early part of 1920, Sir Herbert Samuel, at the invitation of Lord Allenby, had gained first-hand knowledge of the financial and economic situation of Palestine. On June 30, 1920, he took over the Government from Sir Louis Boles. However, in military matters, control remained with the Headquarters in Cairo. Under the previous military administrations, progress had already been made in the matter of roads, communications, posts and commerce, as well as sanitation and justice, although in a manner to indicate that they might be only temporary measures. At the same time, Jewish aspirations were sharply repressed. Yet the land began to recover from the devastation of the Turks.

The times were propitious for a man like Samuel. He was an economist with liberal tendencies and an experienced administrator. He had been a Cabinet Minister during the War and was able systematically to lay firm foundations for the reconstruction of Palestine. Many of the tasks he set himself in the public statement of his program remained for his successors to accomplish. The first and most important step toward the National Home, the creation of which was part of his clearly defined policy, was initiating the survey and re-opening land transfers. This had been under an embargo during the War because the Land Registers had disappeared. This preliminary work enabled the Zionist Organization to begin its colonizing work, which, however, did not extend far beyond social experiments and civilizing achievements. With the expansion of the administrative machinery to include necessary new departments, fundamental needs were given direction. The Jaffa-Lydda Railway, previously of narrow gauge, was made uniform with the rest of the railway system. The Tobacco Monopoly was abolished and settlers were thus enabled to cultivate this plant, which afforded a new source of revenue. Ruttenberg's scheme for the electrification of the country was endorsed and this fundamental development initiated with the Auja Concession. Steps were taken to obtain the electricity concession which had been given to a Greek before the War. The possibilities of the Dead Sea were scientifically investigated. Large areas which neglect had degenerated into marshlands, such as the Haifa-Acre Plain and the Kabbara, were drained, freed of malaria and reclaimed for cultivation. Immigration was allowed, regulated to the economic needs and the absorptive capacity already attained. This so-called Fourth Aliyah reached its peak in 1924-25, with the influx of Polish Jews.

Thus colonization through private initiative gained impetus and complemented the "national" colonization in the Emek. Commerce, and especially small industries, developed rapidly, demand increased as the new immigrants established themselves and their capital swelled the imports of such items as wood, machinery, technical utensils and foodstuffs. A great deal of rapid building was undertaken, largely without any plan. Roads opened up previously impentrable areas, the vineyards and orange plantations which had been neglected and destroyed during the War were restored and extended. Market gardening and dairying increased rapidly. In a few years, the country, especially the coastal area, burst into richer bloom than had been known even in the most prosperous pre-War periods. Exports rose from £1,033,000 in 1920 to £2,000,000 in 1924-25.

The Revenue increased in proportion. On a budget of £2,500,000, a surplus of £250,000 was obtained in 1924-25. Palestine was the first of the erstwhile Turkish provinces which began to pay its share of the pre-War Turkish debt. Gradually "unproductive" activities could be undertaken. Norman Bentwich laid a foundation for a new legislation. He adapted the outmoded Turkish Civil Law and the inadequate Criminal Law to the needs of the swiftly changing social conditions and economic progress, as well as to the English concept of law. Court procedure in all its branches was modified at least enough to render further improvement possible. Confidence in law and justice awakened.

A Department of Antiquities led and cooperated in furthering archeological investigation. A campaign against illiteracy was undertaken by the Department of Education, especially among the Arab peasantry whose cultural, sanitary and economic position had been untouched either by the State, religious bodies, or the newly alert effendis. Secure in Government supervision, collections were successfully carried on in various Moslem countries toward the restoration of the Mosque of Omar. Benevolent institutions such as the Jewish Home for the Aged, the Orthodox Churches, etc., which had been disorganized by the War and other causes, were put on a sound basis with Government help. The representation of Islamic interests was regulated. The Askenazic element, strengthened by the influx from Europe, was given representation of its own in the Chief Rabbinate, in addition to the *Haham Bashi* who had previously been the sole official head. Des-

potism and exploitation could no longer continue in the new atmosphere of justice, order and strict authority.

The summary of his five years' activity which Sir Herbert Samuel presented in his report, gave a picture of Palestine, no longer a wilderness either in its landscape or its moral outlook. No matter what the individual bias of the many important personages —Churchill, MacDonald, Asquith, Milner, Northcliffe, Amery, Hoar and Balfour—who came to Palestine to determine what was to be the future British policy in the Middle East, they could not but admit this unanimously. Samuel's work and achievements afforded the deepest satisfaction to Baron Edmond de Rothschild whose faith in Israel and in Palestine had led him to pour his wealth into colonizing activities which only now were beginning to bear fruit. The single-mindedness of Weizmann, the idealistic concept of Balfour, and the constructive genius of Sir Herbert Samuel were gathered together in the opening of the Hebrew University, which was primarily a symbol of national rejuvenation.

But with all that was achieved, there was much which Samuel could not attain. It is not difficult to realize the factors which hampered him. In spite of his intellectual independence, Samuel was a Jew and a Zionist and hence colored his decisions by his desire for impartiality. It must be remembered that the full command of military power remained with the Headquarters in Cairo, though even if obstacles were put in his way by them, or by London, he was practically free in his choice of collaborators. The fact remains that he was slow to get rid of those higher officials who had been and who intended remaining active in opposing the National Home policy and in similarly influencing the Arabs. The middle and lower officials in whose hands lay the actual execution of orders were not so easily weaned from the traditions of military administration.

It was a dangerous mistake to have extended amnesty to the rioters who had escaped while on parole. Moreover, Arel el Arel was given a high post and Haj Amin el Husseini was made Mufti of Jerusalem. At the same time, for various reasons which were to appear more and more serious later, the Zionist Organization was unable to bring in mass immigration, nor to settle on the land those who actually came. Eventually the Government had to provide the immigrants with work at the same remuneration given to destitute fellaheen.

In any case, whether the obstacles derived in any greater measure from personal or from practical causes, it is certain that in decisive political questions Samuel not only failed to advance, but by restrictions actually reduced the substance of the Mandate, or permitted its reduction. There has never been any attempt to carry out Article Six of the Mandate, which deals with close settlement, State Domains and uncultivated lands. Jewish ex-legionaries clamored for land in vain. On the other hand, the extensive State Domains in the Jordan Valley were distributed on the strength of acquired and presumable claims in a way which bore no relation whatever to the settlement of landless Arabs. Part of the land which had been obtained in this way was sold by the Arabs to Jews immediately afterwards.

Transjordan, which has about the same area as Palestine, with only one third of its population, was wholly ruled out for Jewish settlement. After Feisal's banishment, this territory fell into the hands of Emir Abdullah whose ambitions were constantly checked by Ibn Saud and his Wahabis. Now Abdullah is established with a British "advisor," a British subsidy, and the protection of the British Border Militia. He has no other source of revenue, but is, as it were, an independent ruler, consoled by the fact that, after Churchill's and Samuel's preliminary parleys, the League of Nations, on September 16, 1922, rendered invalid for his territory all direct or indirect references to a Jewish National Home. Transjordan did not profit, nor was it meant to profit, by the drastic restriction of the Mandate nor by the "independence" proclaimed by Samuel in 1923, at Amman. It was a concession to Arab nationalists which they received with little gratitude. There was no change in their claims. These grew more open, and official patience and acquiescence permitted them to be spread among that element of the population which is always ready for trouble. They demanded a greater Arab State and a national government responsible solely to a parliament elected by the people. Further, postwar laws should be abrogated and Jewish immigration stopped until a National Government was set up and the Jewish National Home idea abolished. A simpler slogan was put before the Arab illiterates to the effect that the Jews meant to take the Holy Places and after their expropriation, to drive the Arabs from the country. It required no great effort to set fire to this tinder-box. In the early days of May, 1921, Jews were attacked before the

gates of Tel Aviv. The attitude of the police was ambiguous. Forty-three Jews were murdered. Attacks on Petah Tikwa and Hedera by thousands of armed Arabs, which might have become catastrophic, were repulsed by the presence of troops and the appearance of an aeroplane. The material losses were immense, the moral ones greater. On May 14th, 1921, Sir Herbert Samuel stopped immigration, thus making a concession to the instigators. On June 3rd, the King's Birthday, Samuel made a statement which was ostensibly an interpretation of the Mandate, but in reality an important reduction thereof: "Some among them within the limits that are fixed by the numbers and interests of the present population should come to Palestine in order to help . . . to develop the country for the advantage of all the inhabitants." This was the keynote of the correspondence carried on with the Zionist Organization and the Arab Delegation which had meanwhile gone to London to put through its claims with the help of powerful English friends. The so-called White Paper of June, 1920, contained an interpretation of the term "Jewish National." It struck out the famous formula which Weizmann had proclaimed at the Peace Conference with Balfour's assent: "That Palestine must be as Jewish as England is English," which was replaced by a sentence to the effect that the Jewish people will live in Palestine as of right and not of suffrance. The National Home dwindled to a center in which the entire Jewish people might "take an interest and pride." This White Paper was accepted by Weizmann and his Committee, but it was later to give birth to the Revisionist Wing, although it bore Jabotinsky's signature. Moreover, this interpretation was henceforth to serve as the basis of British policy in Palestine and also of further restrictions.

Thus success attended the Arab policy of attrition, though the submissiveness of the Government failed to win Arab confidence. The Advisory Council which Samuel had nominated upon becoming High Commissioner, consisting of twelve officials and ten non-officials, had not become a basic institution. In September, 1922, the Order in Council which contained the constitution of the country on the basis of the Mandate was put in force. That very month the American Congress had passed a unanimous resolution favoring the establishment of a Jewish National Home. Supported by the Northcliffe Press, a counter movement was set in motion so strong that neither the popularly-elected Legislative

Council provided for by law nor the proposal of an Arab Agency was accepted, and so Samuel had to carry on with an Advisory Council consisting only of officials.

Samuel's administration proved him to be a master of restrictions. Many admired what they considered his wisdom. All along the line, literally as well as figuratively, sharp demarcations were set up. For instance, the question of the frontier of the Syrian Mandated Territory was permanently settled as early as 1924; however, without regard to the fact that the Zionist Organization had been promised a word in the matter. Absolutely no attention was paid to all the proposals based on historic, military, political, and above all economic considerations which had been advanced by the Zionists since 1916 and which were greatly stressed during the negotiations. The Litany and the Hauran were ruled out. On the whole, the French proposals were adhered to. All that was added to Palestine was the northernmost Jewish colony of Metulla, and the region of the Jordan springs about Dan.

When Field-Marshal Lord Plumer took over the administration in August, 1925, he found a land pacified at least on the surface, clearly bounded and economically improved. His task consisted in consolidating what had already been achieved, establishing public security and providing justice for all. This task Plumer carried out magnificently. However, if he had been chosen because shortly before, he had regulated the question of self-Government in Malta, he was none the less unable to do the same for Palestine. This may have been because his health began to fail in the third and last year of his appointment. In any case, his decrees on municipal elections constituted an important advance on the road to self-administration. What distinguished him was his common sense, his military resoluteness, his freedom from bureaucratic clumsiness and his solemn attitude of responsibility towards a momentous task. Not for a moment did he let himself be led astray in the labyrinth of intrigue. About three thousand people were coming in every month and much middle-class capital. Most of the items of the Revenue (Posts, Taxes, Fees, Duty) showed returns which were previously unknown. The year 1925-26 yielded a budgetary surplus of £750,000, which taken together with the £500,000 of previous surpluses made it possible to repay the Palestinian part of the Ottoman Debt as well as the deficit incurred by the Military Administration of 1920. Being without theoretical

bias, Plumer undertook to replace the 12½% ad valorem tariff by a high duty favoring the development and protection of domestic industry. The Jordan Concession for the electrification of the country was definitely given to Ruttenberg. Labor conditions were improved by accident legislation and a strike Ordinance. Peasant tenants were protected against the brutality of the effendis. Palestinian citizenship was brought a step nearer by the final regulation of red tape in the path of former Turkish subjects, these same formalities being abolished in the case of subjects of other countries and facilities given to Jews in accordance with the demands of the Mandate. Plumer's arrangements regarding police and defense were not only symptomatic of the progress made in public security, but also resulted in considerable reductions which allayed the anxiety of the British tax payer.

To a certain extent Plumer's reform had an anti-militaristic angle. It banished the defense forces to the frontier of Transjordan. No doubt this was done for the same reason as everything else in Palestine and indeed in the Middle East, in order to further the equilibrium of inter-play between Arab powers. The country was saved from conflicts like those France had to wage in Syria and in the Lebanon against Nationalist uprisings, although Palestinian Arab Committees were ready to come to the fore with resolutions and bloodless demonstrations. The difficulties, such as drought, cattle pest, a devastating locust invasion and a severe earthquake which damaged Jerusalem, Nablus, and Ramleh, were successfully met only by the maintenance of order and a sense of security. A still darker cloud than these local troubles was the unemployment which began to make itself felt towards the end of 1925, together with the fall in immigration. Against an influx of 33,801 Jews in 1925, there were only 13,081 in 1926, and 2,713 in 1927. To balance this there was an exodus of 7,365 Jews and the biggest emigration of Christians since 1920—1,505. In 1927, the number of Jews emigrating fell to 5,071 and that of Christians to 813, while the figure for Moslems reached its maximum, 1,094. There was something very like a crisis behind these figures. Despite intermittent improvements, unemployment reached its apex in February, 1927. The Government did not content itself with stopping immigration, but took positive steps to combat the situation by instituting Public Works. This period saw the first real afforestation activities in the Judean Hills and the building of the Tel Aviv-Petah

Tikwa road, which was to play a decisive role in opening up the Jaffa-Haifa area to agriculture. It was Plumer who took the lead in all these decisions, many made with lightning rapidity. It was also thanks to him that the difficulties into which Tel Aviv had fallen through emigration, the fall in prices, and the cessation of building activities were overcome with the help of the Government.

Lord Plumer left in August, 1928, with the benedictions of the entire population. In December, Sir John Chancellor took over the administration. In the interim H. C. Luke became Acting High Commissioner. Both these names recall a period wherein the work of a decade was in the gravest danger of destruction. The instant a firm hold was relinquished, opportunity was offered to stir up the apparent incompatibility between Jews and Arabs. Despite emigration and unemployment, Jewish activities developed, surely though slowly. Land was bought and reclaimed and the national revenue was greatly increased by the consequent Jewish contributions, which, however, were disbursed in a way that gave disproportionate benefit to the Arab population in the survey and regulation of property, police protection, education, sanitation, etc. Also, it was obvious that Jewish progress meant progress for the Arab as well, both technically and economically. Politically it seemed as if the Arab nationalists were pacified or at least acquiescent. Order had been established in Syria; Egypt had shaken off the Wafd. On the other hand, British policy in the Middle East continued vague. It was evident that with the Hadda Agreement, Sir Gilbert Clayton had brought about an understanding between the Wahabis and Transjordan. Iraq was being prepared for membership in the League of Nations and also for a treaty with England. The Moslems of India, whose leaders had in part Pan-Islamic tendencies, were to become more specifically involved in the Indian conflict which had grown more embittered during MacDonald's second Premiership. Conditions were favorable for the leaders of Palestinian Nationalism. The ostensible cause of the difficulty was simple, they argued,—so simple indeed as to appear far from the actual problem. It concerned the Wailing Wall; whether certain seats, benches, cupboards and curtains might be temporarily set up or not. The Commission which, according to the Mandate, was to investigate the rights and claims to the Holy Places had not yet been appointed, and petty quarrels and angry reactions followed trifling innovations. A place for the Muezzin was prepared

on the roof of the Moroccan Houses overlooking the Wailing Wall. Quarters for the wives of the Mufti were built above the northern part. There was a meeting place with an approach that crossed the pavement before the Wall. Jewish prayers were torn by the noise of the Zikr. From the 9th Ab (August 15th, 1929), the situation developed rapidly. One day a procession of Jewish youths was authorized by the Government. The next day there was an Arab procession and worshippers were attacked. For weeks the Arab press was full of letters and proclamations against the Jews and similar messages were carried through the country by agitators. On August 23rd, large numbers of peasants "accidentally" streamed into the Mosque of Omar. After prayers and speeches, organized processions marched through the streets of the city. The police put their weapons away "in order not to cause excitement." Armored cars were brought from Amman and stationed at Ramleh. All British subjects were armed, but those who were Jews soon had to give up their weapons. The highest officials were away on leave and Luke was in complete control. In Hebron there was a horrible massacre, especially of the youths in a *Yeshiba* (Jewish Religious College). Everywhere in the country there were attacks, destruction of Jewish property, and cattle thefts. More widespread damage was prevented by a well organized self-defence. Another massacre, on August 29th, occurred this time in Safed, where the Jewish population, in danger of its life, was ignominiously shut into the courtyard of the Governorate. Everywhere the Arab police were unreliable. In Safed the troops arrived too late. There was no single attempt to enlighten the Arab population, no Government proclamation that Jews had never encroached or wished to encroach upon the Holy Places. Where even a single official so desired, trouble was avoided, as for instance at Gaza, where 1,500 Bedouins were successfully held back. The High Commissioner, upon his return, denounced the "ruthless and bloodthirsty evildoers" in a proclamation which was, however, greatly weakened by a second proclamation. The whole country seethed with excitement which paralyzed every activity. Confidence had vanished. Boycotts on both sides crippled commerce and trade; the Jews accused the British Officials, who showed their resentment by siding with the Arabs. The whole world was an interested observer. "Is Palestine to be a National Home or an international shambles?" demanded Senator Borah. But the English press, even the Liberal

papers, backed the administration and gave the Zionists a cold shoulder. There were some sincere sympathizers to be found in the Political Commission of the League of Nations, but in the end, the English representatives were content to support Chancellor's reiterated statement that the discussion on constitutional changes which had been begun in England would be postponed until further notice.

What was happening soon became obvious. A Parliamentary Commission under the Chairmanship of Sir Walter Shaw was sent out. From the beginning, instead of acting as an investigating body, this Commission played the role of Court in the fullest sense of the word, with all the trappings of publicity, press, and lawyers' sophistries. When, in a few weeks, the facts had been brought to light, the Commission showed itself not unwilling to go into major policies. It little mattered that before its departure the sponsors of the Mandate idea, Balfour, Lloyd George and Smith, had demanded in an open letter to the Prime Minister that these questions be handed over to an authoritative cabinet body, and that in its terms of reference it was expressly stated that "the enquiry now initiated is . . . limited to the immediate emergency."

Thus the report of the Commission gave little space to the riots, which could not but be condemned as Arab attacks upon Jews; but it also dealt with questions of major policies, accepting all Arab arguments. It demanded an elucidation of the Government interpretation of what the Mandate had to say regarding the protection of non-Jewish communities and a clear position on the question of Jewish immigration and land purchase. The minority report of Lord Snell (then Sir Harry Snell, a Labor member) alone recalled what the Jewish National Home might mean to Arabs as well as Jews. More than twenty Arabs were sentenced to death for murder, but only three were actually hanged and these were shortly thereafter canonized by their people. Because of the lack of voluntary contributions from the Arabs, the Government, with the help of the Collective Punishment Ordinance, had to provide LP 100,000 for the victims of the riots, 9,000 of whom had been torn from their accustomed way of life. Yet an Arab delegation to London shortly after succeeded in forcing the withdrawal of 3,000 immigration certificates for Jewish workers which had been granted the previous April. It became apparent that the new atmosphere was due not to the opposition

of a few aggrieved officials, but grew out of a change of system emanating from the highest quarters in London. One Commission after another was sent to Palestine. The League Commission on the Wailing Wall withheld its opinion while vain attempts were made to bring about an understanding between the two contending parties. Nor did its final decision cause surprise. They endorsed the Moslem right of ownership of the Wailing Wall, but with the proviso that there should be no building operations there of any sort. The Jews retained the right of worship, but were forbidden to introduce benches or curtains. Moslems were not allowed to use the Zikr during Jewish prayers; on the other hand, the Jews were no longer to use the ram's horn.

The Cabinet decisions on the entire question were more important. These grew out of the position taken by Dr. Drummond Shields, the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, before the Mandates Commission. Sir John Hope Simpson's investigation followed, based on what experts proved were false premises in such decisive matters as the area of cultivable land, viable lots, number of Arab farmers and of landless Arabs. The Report of this investigation led the Government to control strictly the distribution of the "little available land" and to the formation of a Development Board to be responsible for Jewish and Arab colonization. Simultaneously, a Government White Paper appeared, in the preamble of which all reference to the historic link between the Jews and Palestine was dropped. The National Home phrase became no more than a gesture. What remained was the protection of Arabs against Jewish "encroachments," prohibition of land purchase by Jews and restriction of all Jewish immigration as long as there remained Arabs unemployed.

Having for some time been attacked by large groups within the Zionist Organization, who condemned his submissiveness to the British, Chaim Weizmann resigned the presidency of the Jewish Agency. Felix Warburg and Lord Melchett also resigned from the Agency, which, after protracted negotiations, had been organized in 1929. These leaders felt that with the Government putting one obstacle after another in the way of a task already sufficiently difficult, they could not call upon World Jewry to make still greater sacrifices.

The Arabs were jubilant, believing the Balfour Declaration to be dwindling to nothing. In this spirit the matter was discussed

in the House of Commons on December 17, 1930. None but the vaguest answers were vouchsafed by the Government. But though the question was not put to a vote, the discussion caused renewed attacks in the press by Baldwin, Chamberlain, Amery, Smuts and Lloyd-George. On February 17th 1931, the Prime Minister published a letter to Weizmann which was to provide the Palestine Administration with an authentic interpretation of the White Paper. Although it meant a virtual surrender of the White Paper, for the time at least, no changes were to be observed in the Administrative system. The interment of the Indian Moslem leader, Mohammed Ali, and of Hussein, ex-King of the Hejaz, beside the Dome of the Rock, proved how greatly the Government was concerned to foster the Pan-Islamic dream.

The report of Lewis French followed, reflecting the spirit of the Shaw Commission and repeating both the facts and the omissions of the Hope-Simpson paper. He ignored the results of the Survey, which had meantime been completed. He was blind to the benefits of Jewish immigration to the entire population, not seeing that Jewish settlement had created more room for the Arabs. French and Strickland occupied themselves with a possible system of agricultural cooperation and both discovered that the fellaheen are very poor. Which indeed they are and were before the Jews came to the land, as they are now in Egypt, Iraq and Asia Minor, where Jews have bought no land.

The historic causes of this condition were not investigated, such as the outmoded system of taxation and the holding of large tracts by a few families. Even now, almost all the cultivable land in Arab possession is in the hands of 250 effendis, among them the Husseinis. It was found simpler to put the blame on the Jews.

Sir John Chancellor's term of office ended in October, 1931, at which time he had succeeded in eliminating the only Jewish high official, the Attorney General, Norman Bentwich. The new High Commissioner * is Sir Arthur Wauchope, a military man who has recourse to first-hand observation and personal contacts with the needs of the land. He does not permit undue influence by bureaucrats and has let it be understood that he will publish no reports of major importance before submitting them for comment to the Jewish Agency and the Arab Executive. The quest for the ousted

* Sir Arthur Wauchope is in office at the time of this writing, 1933.

*fellah* yielded little result in the frank and outspoken atmosphere which permeates his administration.

A new period of peaceful productivity has been inaugurated. While immigration in 1931 was about the same as in 1930, emigration for 1931 fell far below that for 1930, providing another proof that the shock of the 1929 riots has passed and that the entire population realizes how greatly both parties were affected by them. In spite of all, the Jews have progressed. Palestine cannot remain unscathed by the general world depression, which has profoundly affected American Jewry and almost destroyed the middle class Jews of Central Europe. But Palestine has suffered less and it would seem that the world crisis has provided a new impetus, attracting an influx of considerable capital and developing a new commercial life.

The history of Palestine in the last twelve years is the history of ascension from a shattered world; the victory of idealism over despairing humanity, of a longing that seeks fulfilment and of love that, embracing the past, would create a brighter future.

# THE ORGANIZATION OF PALESTINE JEWRY

BY I. BEN ZWI

## HISTORY OF ORGANIZATION

The idea of *Kenesseth Israel,* a united organized Palestinian Jewry, is as old as Zionism itself and follows naturally from it. Even before the War, under Turkish rule, there were attempts and experiments at organization, as, for example, the calling together by Ussischkin in 1903 of delegates (not elected representatives) from all Jewish communities. These met once, in the village of Zichron Jacob, and did not meet again. Failure to organize was due chiefly to the opposition of the Old *Yishub,* which on the one hand was materially independent of the New *Yishub* as it depended entirely on the *Halukah* moneys from abroad, and on the other hand was and wished to remain internally disorganized because it was divided into *Kollelim,* or small groups from various countries whence they received their support. They viewed any attempt at organization with disfavor because they feared to lose control of their income.

The War destroyed this system. *Halukah* moneys ceased to arrive. The Old *Yishub* was thrown back on its own resources and those of the general community. It was much decreased in size and lost its predominating influence. With the British Occupation, which was greeted as the dawn of a new era, the New *Yishub* again took the initiative for the organization of the Jewish community. Before the final conquest, when the country was still divided between the Turks and the British, on December 31, 1917, the first preparatory assembly was called, which was followed by further assemblies. Finally, in October, 1920, the first *Asefat Hanivharim* (Elected Assembly) was called. This was the basis of the organized national Jewish Community, the cornerstone for the organization of *Kenesseth Israel.*

The mere fact of the self-organization of Palestine Jewry had outstanding importance because of the formation of a body, the

*Vaad Leumi,* National Committee or General Council, which was destined to become the center of Jewish life in Palestine. Without this body there would be lacking its first premise. The basis had been laid for Jewish national autonomy in Palestine.

The first Elected Assembly met three times before 1925. Then, at the end of 1925, new elections took place; and this second Elected Assembly succeeded in obtaining the sanction of the Government for its statutes and regulations which were published in the Official Gazette of January, 1928. These are the regulations for the organization of the Jewish Community. This whole first period, from 1920 to 1928, was nothing more than one long struggle for the principle of organization and of its official acknowledgment. One of the main issues was equal suffrage. Orthodox Jewry, from the extreme anti-Zionist and anti-Hebraic *Agudath Israel,* to the followers of Chief Rabbi Kook, the beloved leader of all orthodox *Ashkenazim,* and to the *Mizrahi* themselves who represent orthodoxy within the Zionist movement, were all in various ways and measures opposed to women's suffrage. The *Agudath Israel* withdrew entirely as a result of this fight. The *Mizrahi* agreed to a referendum on the question; but at the last moment, realizing that the majority wanted women's suffrage, it gave way and accepted the idea as the will of the community. The officially acknowledged regulations expressly include equal suffrage, although equal suffrage within each local community is not so clearly enjoined. The Jewish Community had overcome one of the greatest obstacles to its organization, and the elections for the last assembly were carried out by both men and women without any opposition from members of *Kenesseth Israel.*

### KENESSETH ISRAEL

*Kenesseth Israel,* the organized Jewish Community, has been recognized by the British Government and has been granted the right in its officially published regulations to impose taxes to cover its budget. The executive body of the *Asefat Hanivharim* (Elected Assembly) is the *Vaad Leumi* (National Committee) consisting of 23 members elected by the Assembly, and this is empowered to tax the Jewish Community in order to meet its own expenses and the cultural, religious and social needs of the community as an organized unit. This includes in principle the Rabbinate, charity

and public health, as well as education. Its tendency and intention is gradually to concentrate all these services in the hands of the Jewish community, to take them from outside agencies insofar as they are not the functions of or are not fully rendered by the responsible Government. The gradual withdrawal of *Hadassah* and in general of the *Keren Hayesod* from *these services* is in line with this intention. However, *Kenesseth Israel* is still in the slow birth pains of its organization.

### TERRITORIAL ORGANIZATION

It is important to emphasize that the Jewish national organization does not include only such communities as are composed of individuals held together by their religious bond, but that it also includes territorial communities, such as Jewish villages or even towns. The residents of these places do not enter *Kenesseth Israel* as individuals, but as collective bodies; every member automatically becomes a member of *Kenesseth Israel* unless he deliberately states his opposition and withdraws. In other words, the Jewish municipal council becomes in its other function a nucleus of *Kenesseth Israel,* so combining its municipal function with its role as a constituent of the organized Jewish Community of Palestine. Thus any person in such a council area who voluntarily withdraws from *Kenesseth Israel* cannot, however, withdraw from the jurisdiction of the municipal council. He is still dependent on the community from which he has nominally withdrawn. This holds good only in self-governing Jewish municipal council areas, such as the city of Tel Aviv and the self-governing villages, Rehoboth, Rishon Lezion and others.

So under the aegis of group autonomy grows up a new form which presages the future autonomy to be based on territorial units. There is an historical precedent in Palestine itself in the Greek city federation called the Decapolis, the ten free cities which in ancient times formed a Greek commonwealth within Palestine. Although not united in space, they formed one political body. Today the scattered Jewish settlements united in *Kenesseth Israel* form the same sort of political body not based on territorial continuity. In addition to the clearly defined territorial settlements, such as Tel Aviv and the hundred or so villages and cooperative farms, we must take into account the Jewish quarters of Jerusalem

which are linked and run into each other, as well as those of Haifa and Tiberias, which tend to become internally self-governing groups within the municipality.

### THE RABBINICAL COUNCIL

The regulations for the organization of the Jewish Community are based upon a general ordinance on Religious Communities in Palestine, of 1926. Therefore, these regulations include religious institutions such as the Rabbinical Council and the Chief Rabbinate. A special Rabbinical Assembly was called in Jerusalem in 1921, and Rabbinical Courts were established with a central court of appeal in Jerusalem under the presidency of the two chief rabbis, the *Sephardic* and the *Ashkenazic*. These courts have jurisdiction in family relations; all such matters previously under the control of Moslem authorities, are now given over to the Rabbinical Courts. Anyone subjecting himself to their jurisdiction is legally bound by their findings.

However, though the Rabbinate and its courts are included in the official ordinance regulating the organization of the Jewish Community of Palestine, they have by no means been integrated into the body of *Kenesseth Israel*. Their budget is not incorporated; they are not controlled by the *Vaad Leumi* or by the local communities. They function independently. The next task is to end this disorganization, to bring the Rabbinate and its courts into the scope of *Kenesseth Israel*, to put them within its control, meantime providing for their material needs.

### PARTIES

The number of parties represented in the Elected Assembly varies from election to election. The following formations should be emphasized:

LABOR: In the previous elections Labor had been divided into different groups according to varying shades of ideology. Now the bulk of Labor is united under the name of Labor Party. The representatives of this united party at the assembly of February, 1931, numbered 27, including four women. However, a small minority of Labor voted separately: two groups of left Poale Zion, one of

Communists, and the *Shomer Hazair* group, which together succeeded in electing three representatives.

SEPHARDIM: The Sephardic Group, with its clearly defined numbers, was allowed a fixed number of representatives (15), due to a special agreement made two years earlier. However, they split up into three groups at the Assembly, four going over to Labor and five to the Revisionists. The *Sephardim* represented all Oriental Jews with the exception of the

YEMENITES: They numbered three, two of whom reserved the right to vote with Labor on social questions and with the *Mizrahi* on religious questions. The third voted independently.

MIZRAHI AND MIZRAHI LABOR: They numbered five representatives. *Mizrahi* Labor linked up with Labor, voting with them on social questions, and with their own orthodox group on religious matters.

REVISIONISTS: They had eleven representatives on their own ticket, besides the five *Sephardim*. They had hoped and expected to get a plurality of the seats at the Assembly, and control matters; but as they had only sixteen seats out of the seventy-one, they decided to use this tribune for political demonstration and propaganda and to withdraw in the course of the assembly. Vladimir Jabotinsky, their noted leader, was absent from Palestine. The Revisionists may be described as militant-national; in Arab-Jewish affairs their attitude is provocative as opposed to the Labor ideal of social solidarity. They do not oppose British Imperialism, but bitterly criticise its failure to meet their demands and still more bitterly oppose the Zionist leadership for its failure to make those maximal demands. In 1920, at the first Elected Assembly, Jabotinsky was also absent, being in prison in Acre because of his part in organizing the illegal Jewish self-defense at the time of the Passover riots, and then his name headed every ticket. He was unanimously elected as a sign of Jewish solidarity in protest against his imprisonment and in demand of the primary right of self-defense. The reason for his absence from the last assembly is equally hateful to every Jew: The Government has refused him a *visa* because of his political opinions. This is resented as unfair, even by his political opponents. Arab agitators and persons active in the 1920 riots, including the Mufti who has been raised by the Government from a prison sentence to Moslem leadership, are not refused residence in the country nor even high positions. However,

despite his martyr's halo, Jabotinsky had succeeded by January, 1931, in winning the odium of all parties but his own, due to his destructive policy and attitude.

The main fight at the Assembly was between the Revisionists and Labor. Part of the other representatives went over to either side. At last the Revisionists, as they planned, withdrew from the Assembly on the issue of a minor formal question.

GENERAL ZIONISTS: These, formerly the main body of the Zionist movement abroad, standing between Labor (Poale Zion) on the left and Orthodoxy (Mizrahi) on the right, now elected in Palestine only four representatives. They were very active in one issue, that of the equal rights of women. This was also defended by Labor, which had four women in its ranks, as well as by

THE WOMEN'S LIST: This had three women elected on an independent ticket.

THE FARMERS' UNION: This group, representing the employing planters and farmers, among them the old settlers who founded the first Jewish agricultural villages, had no representatives at the Assembly because their demand for a fixed number of seats irrespective of the number of their actual voters had been refused them. They therefore abstained from voting. Not forming an ethnic group, like the *Sephardim,* the number of farmers and their adherents could not be determined in advance. Their demand therefore had to be refused.

### THE THIRD ASEFAT HANIVHARIM

The Second Session of the Third *Asefat Hanivharim* was held in Tel Aviv from February 29 to March 3, 1932. The total number of delegates and the number of representatives from each party remained the same as at the First Session of the Third *Asefat Hanivharim* (February, 1931).

The Revisionists, who withdrew from the First Session (February, 1931) and were therefore not represented on the *Vaad Leumi* then elected, returned to the Second Session and are now represented. In all likelihood the Revisionists came to the conclusion that they could more effectively carry out their political policy from within the *Vaad Leumi* than from without. The composition of the present *Vaad Leumi* is as follows: 10 representatives of the Labor Party, 5 representatives of the Revisionists, 2 repre-

sentatives of the *Mizrahi,* 2 representatives of the *Sephardim,* 2 representatives of the General Zionists, 1 representative of the Women's Party, 1 representative of the Yemenites; total 23.

The following are the chief resolutions adopted by the Second Session of the *Asefat Hanivharim:*

(1) The *Yishub* will not participate in or recognize any Legislative Council empowered to obstruct the rebuilding of Palestine.

(2) Though the *Yishub* will not object to plans for the development of the country, it will oppose any measures intended to curtail the absorption of new immigrants and restrict the growth of the Jewish Community.

(3) The Government was requested to reduce the minimum sum required for a settler of independent means from L. 1,000 to L. 500; to increase the facilities for settlement in Palestine by persons of small means, such as artisans; and to facilitate the entrance into the country of relatives of permanent settlers.

(4) The Government was urged to adjust the proportion of Jews employed in Government and Municipal works to the proportion of Jewish participation in Government revenues.

(5) A Commission was appointed to deal with all questions of education, and to submit its recommendations to the *Vaad Leumi* within two months.

(6) The *Asefat Hanivharim* appealed to all settlements to complete the formal organization of the *Kehillot* within *Kenesseth Israel.*

(7) In a resolution urging the observance of the Sabbath in all Jewish centers as the official day of rest, the Government was requested to facilitate such observance of the Sabbath and Jewish holidays by the employees and laborers in its service.

(8) The *Asefat Hanivharim* instructed the *Vaad Leumi,* in cooperation with the Jewish Agency, to organize an Economic Council. One of its purposes shall be the systematic encouragement of home industry.

### PALESTINE JEWRY UNITED

The Elected Assembly represents one united Palestinian Jewry, irrespective of the fact that a small number, the Farmers' Union, abstained from voting, and another group, the *Agudath Israel,* clearly separated themselves from it. The former bespeaks only a

temporary disagreement. The latter, the ultra-orthodox followers of Rabbi Sonnenfeld, affiliated with the *Agudath Israel* abroad, have definitely cut themselves off from *Kenesseth Israel*, and so are legally and officially outside the Jewish Community of Palestine. They have, so to speak, excommunicated the majority in whose midst they form a small group, for Zionism and the Hebrew language are equally anathema to them. Except for them, Palestinian Jewry is now a legal, recognized entity, with the rights and the powers of self-government in all internal affairs. The chief right and power here involved is that of taxation.

The Religious Communities Ordinance gave the Elected Assembly the right to tax the Jewish Community for all communal purposes. Thus the recent Assembly broadened its functions within *Kenesseth Israel* by establishing in principle the idea of self-taxation of the Jewish Community for these public services. Only the first step has been taken, but it is the first step to independence and enrichment of the content of life of the organized Jewish Community and its activities.

The Elected Assembly of 71 representatives appeared to represent the 70 lands of dispersion in-gathered to *Eretz Israel*. *Ashkenazim* and *Sephardim*, Persians, Yemenites, Russians, Germans, English, Americans, Labor and Capital, Socialists and Rabbis, with their various costumes and customs, sat together, worked and deliberated, fought and again united, dissented and agreed, and so took over jointly the tasks, functions and budget of a united Jewish Community.

# HALUTZIUTH AND THE LABOR MOVEMENT

BY A PALESTINIAN

## HALUTZIUTH, THE YOUTH

When the first stream of Zionist immigration into Palestine began in the years 1881-2, the pioneers were middle class Jews, most of them from Russia. These were the days before Herzl, before the Congresses and before an International Zionist organization. The pioneers were men and women caught up in the great wave of religious and national sentiment which was called the *Hibath Zion* movement. They dreamed of establishing themselves in Palestine as farmers, using the Arabs for rough labor, and constituting an upper class. They founded such colonies as Petah Tikwe, Rehoboth and Rishon Lezion where their plans were realized in part.

It was not until 1905-6 that a movement began among nationally conscious Jewish workers, not members of the middle class, to migrate to Palestine and there to build up a new life for themselves and for the Jewish people. These young Jews saw the problem in their own light. To them it was clear that a Jewish Palestine consisting only of an upper middle class would be an insecure and one-sided structure. On the one side well-to-do Jews, on the other side Arab laborers. Between the two would be a wide economic and racial gulf.

Moreover, to the Zionist workers' movement of those years, the dream of a Jewish renaissance in Palestine was linked up with a complete transformation in outlook. These men and women of the second *Aliyah* (immigration) wanted a Jewish social structure in which there would be no domination by upper and professional classes. They wanted the Jew to be a worker, too, a hewer of wood and drawer of water. For moral and cultural reasons, as well as for nationalist and economic ones, there had to be a powerful Jewish working class in Palestine. "The Religion of Labor" became one of the slogans of the workers' movement toward Pales-

tine. In this the labor movement in Palestine differs from that in America, for example. Its object is not only to improve the condition of the laborer, but to create more laborers. It respects manual labor as such, as a constructive social force, and would bring up a generation of independent manual laborers.

Perhaps the most curious and interesting feature of this migration was the fact that these men were, to a large extent, intellectuals, being college and high school men. Their courage and faith and endurance were extraordinary, and yet not too great for the difficulties and privations which faced them. For years they worked in the Jewish settlements in Palestine, waiting for their numbers to grow by new immigration. But legal obstacles and economic difficulties kept their numbers low.

The World War gave a new impetus to Jewish labor immigration. Shaken by this storm, a large number of the Jewish youth looked to Palestine for the salvation of themselves and their people. The slogan of self-determination of peoples and the acknowledgment of the right of Jews to migrate and to establish a Homeland in Palestine embodied in the Balfour Declaration, gave rise to new hopes. The *Hehalutz* organization was created to carry these hopes into action. Many members of the youth movements, such as *Hashomer Hatzair* and *Blau Weiss*, joined *Hehalutz*. The revolt against the authority of family and school, the struggle for a new way of life, the rejection of the narrow commercialism and materialism of the older generation had a deep significance for these young Jews. They were not satisfied with a political program. They wanted a revolution in their own lives; not simply as a protest against conventional ties, but for affirmative, creative reasons. And they left their homes and schools, often breaking with their families, in order to become manual laborers.

The *Hehalutz* organization trained these prospective *Halutzim* in productive occupation, taught them Hebrew and imbued them with the national and social ideals of the labor movement. When this training was completed, they selected the individuals who were to go to Palestine.

The organization proved equal to its task. Thousands of youths were attracted by the movement, physically and morally trained and prepared for life in Palestine.

The *Hehalutz* has now a membership of 30,000 *Halutzim* and *Halutzoth*. These maintain contact with their comrades in Pales-

tine and are ready to avail themselves of the first opportunity of joining them.

### THE WORKERS ORGANIZE

At first, the organization of Jewish workers in Palestine took on a political rather than a trade unionist form. But the necessity for a more comprehensive organization on a basis of economic and trade unionist interests was felt. The Agricultural Workers' Federation, which was the first trade union in Palestine, was established in 1911 at Petah Tikwe.

This organization had a membership of only a few hundred agricultural workers who then lived outside the towns and worked on the plantations of farmers and of various colonizing institutions. Its activities were at first almost entirely limited to economic self-defence. But the labor movement in Palestine was something more than a trade union and more than a political party. It was a national force, striving to build the country. The separate political labor parties of that time, the *Poale Zion* and the *Poel Hazair,* with ideological differences, were more and more drawn together by their common needs in industry and agriculture, until they united also politically and became the nucleus of the present Labor Party.

Recognition of the solidarity of interests of the entire working class was one of the characteristic features of the Federation. Thus the idea of a general trade union to include all the workers in the country had emerged very early and gained ground after the War. An amalgamation of all labor groups was intended to link colonizing, economic and trade unionist work with the political activities of the labor movement. After difficulties and disagreements, the conference of Palestinian labor of 1920 founded the General Federation of Jewish Labor in Palestine, the *Histadruth Haovdim.* Its organization and objects were defined as follows:

"Its duty in the first instance is to create the new type of Jewish worker and see to it that, whilst colonization is developing, the Jewish worker . . . who came into being as a result of the very colonization process, be assured the place which is his due. . . . The Federation includes all workers who live by their own labor without exploiting others, it regulates all matters affecting the working classes in the field of trade union activities, coloniza-

tion and education, with the aim of building up a Jewish Workers' Community in Palestine."

The united organization established on this basis grew steadily in responsibility and power and became the chief bearer of reconstruction work in Palestine. Its membership increased from 4,500 in 1920 to 30,000 in 1931. It forms now one-sixth of the *Yishub*, i.e., more than a third, if the families of the members are taken into account.

The tasks of the Federation were, as we have seen, not confined to protecting labor. It undertook in the most difficult and trying circumstances to create a Jewish working class in Palestine. With this object in view, trade union activities, colonization, cooperation and social welfare work were combined in one powerful, ever expanding body. The multiplicity and variety of tasks called into life a series of institutions and unions.

### TRADE UNION ACTIVITIES

The *Histadruth Haovdim* is the largest organized body in Palestine with a membership comprising 78% of all Jewish workers in the country. Labor is organized in trade unions, national and local, and the activities of all trade unions and labor institutions are centralized and supervised by local labor Councils elected by all the workers of the respective locality.

One of the most important tasks of the Federation is to guard the trade union interests of the workers. Its record shows several achievements in this field. The eight hour working day in industry, in the building trades and in privately owned plantations has been accepted as a standard. An intensive fight for improved Labor Legislation is being conducted. As a result, a Workers' Compensation Law was promulgated and a start has been made in legislation for protection of children and women in industry. Children under twelve years of age may not be employed in industry, (though child labor is unrestricted in house and field), and women and children under sixteen are restricted as to hours of work and occupations.

The workers have succeeded in obtaining the participation of a large number of employers in the budget of the *Kupat Holim* (Workers' Sick Fund). In most of the industrial enterprises

workers' councils exist, which in many factories are recognized by the employers. The Federation has made collective agreements with many employers which regulate employment and dismissal of workers and assure participation of Trade Unions and Workers' Councils in the making of decisions.

The present position was not reached without a struggle. The question of wages, of dismissal of workers, of the recognition of Trade Unions and Shop Committees and of employing workers through labor exchange caused many conflicts and strikes. In 1930, for instance, 50 strikes were conducted in which 718 workers were involved; of these 36 were successful, one failed, and the rest ended with a compromise.

### LABOR EXCHANGES

The steady influx of worker-immigrants into the country and the fact that it is necessary to absorb them into the work, made the regulation of the labor market by labor exchanges imperative. In times of unemployment, part time work is given to all, married men with families are given the preference in remunerative jobs, and in severe crises of unemployment the workers with permanent jobs voluntarily tax themselves for an unemployment fund. Anarchy in the labor market would be a menace to the standard of life maintained by the Jewish worker and to Jewish immigration into the country. Competition would not only lower wages but practically shut out the weaker elements from employment. To be effective, however, such control must be a monopoly. Thus the labor exchanges of the Federation do not confine their activities to members of Trade Unions, but provide employment for every worker who is willing to submit to the principle of just distribution of work.

The monopoly of labor exchanges has been a frequent cause of controversy with the employers. The exchanges serve as a guarantee of a fair distribution of work, as a means to prevent disintegration in times of crisis and to protect a decent standard of life for labor.

### LABOR IN THE PLANTATION VILLAGES

The Jewish hired laborer in the villages has waged a ceaseless struggle during the last twenty-five years with varying success,

in order to maintain his position and, mainly due to his organized power and cooperative methods, has succeeded of late years in penetrating into the villages in appreciable numbers. He is subject to the double pressure of competition of cheap Arab labor and recurring seasonal unemployment. As a result, the wages in the villages were always 25% to 50% lower than in the towns.

The planting of many orange groves, covering tens of thousands of dunams, which has been carried out in the last six years, has had a remakable effect in easing the economic situation and has been instrumental in increasing considerably the number of workers in the villages. Wages improved and now stand at 17½ to 20 piastres per day. (At par, one piastre is worth 5c.) None the less, the labor conditions of hired workers in the villages are still very hard, the reasons being low wages, appallingly inadequate housing facilities, and competition of cheap, unorganized labor. The Agricultural Workers' Federation sought to solve these problems through undertaking contracts by workers' groups and the settlement of agricultural workers in close proximity to the villages, so that home produce would supplement their wages.

The Federation also leads the workers in their struggle for the improvement of labor conditions. In all its demands it has to overcome an energetic resistance on the part of the strong employers' organization existing in the villages.

### COOPERATION

*Nir* (Workers' Colonization Society) was registered with the Government in December, 1925. Since trade unions have no legal standing, the Society confers legal standing on the Federation, which it provides with the power of effective control over the workers' settlements, of safeguarding their proletarian character, and of acquiring financial means for independent colonizing activities of the workers. Membership in the Society is identical with membership in the Federation and vice versa.

The aims of the colonization work carried on by *Nir* are: a) the creation of a class of small holders working on national soil (Jewish National Fund) without any exploitation of hired labor; b) the absorption of the growing population recruited by immigration; c) the employment of the immigrant masses on productive

work; d) the establishment of Jewish agriculture as a healthy foundation for national economy.

In spite of many difficulties and hardships, workers' colonization has made enormous progress since the War. In 1911 the number of workers settled was only 950. Since then colonization has multiplied; 2,500 new settlers have been placed and the cultivated area increased from 17,000 to 100,000 dunams. Today there are 47 agricultural workers' settlements in the country, containing more than 5,000 inhabitants.

### COOPERATIVE CONTRACTING

Difficult labor conditions, the competition of cheap labor, and the lack of experience and training on the part of the immigrant workers have been met by attempts to organize labor on the contract basis. Contract work achieves two objects; it raises wages through technical improvements and better management of the work, and it helps eliminate disputes, and obviates conditions which give rise to friction. In order to achieve these objects, the Federation of Labor established machinery for undertaking and carrying out contracts for public and private building. The central institution for undertaking work on the basis of a collective contract and mutual responsibility under the workers' own management was the *Solel Boneh.*

"This cooperative undertaking of workers became within a short time the most important building contractor in Palestine. As soon as the large road-making works of the Government were finished, large building operations began in all the towns. . . .

". . . *Solel Boneh* fulfilled a task of prime importance in transferring Jewish workers from roadmaking to building, in training thousands of skilled craftsmen in all branches of building, in fighting to secure the employment of organized Jewish labor and the maintenance of their standard of living by establishing reasonable wage scales and conditions.

". . . Within a period of six years, *Solel Boneh* succeeded in carrying out works to the value of LP. 1,455,000. The number of buildings erected in that time was 1,481 (including 14 factories, 3 theatres, and 56 public buildings). About 100 miles of roadway, 45 miles of railway embankment, as well as LP. 85,000 worth of drainage and reclamation contracts were part of their activities."

The winding up of *Solel Boneh* was caused by too rapid expansion (doing work on credit); competition of private contractors using exploited labor; acting as a training school and as an absorber of unemployed. It rendered great service to Jewish colonization work and its work is being continued on a small scale by contracting offices of the local Labor Councils all over the country.

Agricultural Contracting Cooperative Association, Ltd., *Yachin*, started its operations in October, 1926. The planting of an orange grove demands constant supervision as well as expert knowledge and experience. A layman who wishes to plant an orange grove must apply to an experienced and reliable contractor. The Federation of Jewish Labor established an institution which would take upon itself this task with the view to facilitating colonization and extending planting work on the one hand and to improving the condition of the workers on the other hand. This system of work has already shown good results and thanks to permanent employment, the work has become more efficient and wages have been raised without increasing, in general, the working expenses.

In the course of the five years of its existence, including the year 1931, *Yachin* executed work for LP. 100,000, and the area cultivated by it covers approximately 2,140 dunams.

### CONSUMERS' COOPERATIVE

The *Hamashbir* was founded in 1916 with the object of buying grain during the harvest and selling it to the workers at cost price in times of scarcity, thus checking the growing tendency towards speculation. The institution, which was established with the scanty means of the workers themselves, fully succeeded in its object, and as a consequence extended its activities to other articles, raising its share capital accordingly as need arose.

The annual turnover of *Hamashbir* increased from LP. 29,000 in 1920 to LP. 142,000 in 1926. It was then reorganized for wider work. The sale of agricultural produce was handed over to a special association, *T'nuva*, and the activities of *Hamashbir* were decentralized and transferred mainly to local purchasing associations, the headquarters fulfilling the task of a Cooperative Wholesale Society. *T'nuva* now serves 90 local consumers' associations, com-

prising, with the members' families, 12,000 persons. *Hamashbir* fulfilled an important task in eliminating middlemen and supplying produce required to workers' settlements and to contracting groups engaged in public works.

### T'NUVA

*T'nuva* is a cooperative marketing association which was established for the purpose of merchandising the products of the Jewish workingmen's agricultural settlements in *Eretz Israel.* Its members are *Kvutzoth, Moshavim,* and *Kibbutzim* which deliver their produce to be market cooperatively. But other Jewish settlements may also enjoy membership in T'nuva. Within a short period it became one of the most important factors in *Eretz Israel's* agricultural life. It was successful in keeping the old and in developing new markets for Jewish settlements. Central dairies were erected, equipped with modern machinery, and a large number of shops were opened in all cities. They also operate the pasteurizing plant of the Hadassah-Straus Health Center in Jerusalem.

*T'nuva* deals in all branches of agricultural produce. Milk and dairy products comprise the most important part of all sales (LP. 82,453 out of LP. 139,102 was received from milk and dairy products in 1930). It also distributes poultry, eggs, fruits, vegetables, honey and preserves. These combined brought an income of LP. 56,649 in 1930. The increase in sales is remarkable. In 1924 the total receipts were LP. 19,651, and in 1930 they had risen to LP. 139,102. The receipts of 1930 exceeded those of 1929 by LP. 44,000, about 45%. The same rate of increase was now observed in the receipts of 1931.

### CENTRAL COMMITTEE FOR COOPERATIVE UNDERTAKINGS

The Cooperative Movement in Palestine is not confined to consumers' cooperation. Producers' and transport cooperative undertakings form an important section of Palestine industry and transport in general. The trend towards association and cooperation, so characteristic of the Palestine Labor Movement, is also evident in this field.

Acting on their own initiative, with almost no outside capital, workers have established a series of industrial undertakings in the

metal trade, clothing, printing, manufacture of building materials and in many small industries. The number of such undertakings to date is forty-six; 679 workers are employed. The capital investment amounts to LP. 38,000. The bulk of motor transportation is organized on cooperative lines.

### MOAZOTH HAPOALOTH (WOMEN WORKERS' COUNCIL)

The special difficulties encountered by women workers in their efforts to take an active part in the constructive activities of the labor movement in Palestine and to penetrate into all branches of work, made the establishment of a special institution engaged in facilitating the training and employment of women workers imperative. Thus *Moazoth Hapoaloth* was called into life, being charged with the task of training girls for productive, particularly agricultural, work, and of conducting social welfare activities.

Six Girls' Farms are today controlled and managed by the *Moazoth Hapoaloth*, 120 girls undergoing training for agricultural work. In addition, one large Girls' Training Farm for 120 girls near Nes Ziona has been established by the Roumanian branch of the Women's International Zionist Organization (WIZO). The establishment of day nurseries for children of working mothers, organization of working mothers, educational and cultural activities among working women are likewise the special concern of the Women Workers' Council, who maintain connections with various international working women's organizations.

### THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE FOR IMMIGRATION

The Central Committee for Immigration of the *Histadruth Haovdim* has undertaken the task of helping and fostering labor immigration. It renders assistance to members of the Federation anxious to bring their relatives to Palestine, helps to remove legal difficulties standing in the way of workers' immigration, participates with the Jewish Agency in an advisory capacity in drafting the labor immigration schedule, in the distribution of immigration certificates among the various countries and in the selection of immigrant workers. It also maintains connections with labor *aliyah* groups and meets them upon arrival in Palestine.

### FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS

The Workers' Bank was established in 1921, with a capital of LP. 30,000. In the past ten years it has trebled its capital. It has rendered great service in the development of cooperative activities. Since it does not as a rule extend credit to individuals, a network of cooperative Workers' Saving and Loan Societies has grown up in many localities. These receive small deposits and lend small amounts to their members.

Recently, with the help of the Jewish National Workers' Alliance of America, there was organized a Labor Insurance Co., *Hassneh,* with a capital investment of LP. 5,000 and LP. 10,000 in workers' insurance.

### KUPAT HOLIM (SICK BENEFIT FUND)

The *Kupat Holim* is an organization founded for the purpose of providing workers with necessary medical assistance in the event of sickness, and forms part of the General Federation of Jewish Labor in Palestine. It is organized on the same lines as similar Sick Benefit Societies in Europe. No legal provisions for compulsory Health Insurance of employees exist in Palestine. The Federation of Labor, however, obliges all its members to join the *Kupat Holim.*

Apart from medical and financial assistance to its members, the *Kupat Holim* has paid much attention to hygiene and sanitation in the rural settlements in which its numerous clinics are established.

The peculiar conditions under which the Jewish laborer works in preparing land for settlement, draining marshes, etc., the prevalence of malarial fever and other sub-tropical diseases, combine to undermine the health of the worker and weaken his resistance to epidemics. All this complicates the already difficult task of the *Kupat Holim.* Today the *Kupat Holim* has a membership of 18,000. Together with dependents of members, the Fund takes care of about 53,000 individuals.

The services of the *Kupat Holim* include medical treatment for members and their dependents during illness; supply of medicine; payment of traveling expenses of country members ordered to come to the central clinics; sick benefits to members receiving

no wages when ill; convalescence facilities; maternity benefits; sanitary and preventive work. Unemployed members receive assistance without payment of dues. The *Kupat Holim* maintains two convalescent homes, *Arzah,* near Jerusalem at Mozah, and *Borochow* on Mt. Carmel at Haifa, and a fully equipped hospital which serves the *Emek.*

The annual budget of the Fund is LP. 55,000 to LP. 60,000 of which 67% is covered by members' monthly contributions, 13.5% by contributions of employers, 17% by grants-in-aid of the *Keren Hayesod* and from the *Hadassah* budget, which also supplies linens and direct medical service, and 2.5% from various other sources.

The *Kupat Holim* has in its service 140 persons, including physicians and nurses.

### VAAD HATARBUTH (EDUCATIONAL COMMITTEE)

Palestinian labor is anxious to develop an extensive educational activity. The variety of elements of which the Jewish labor community in Palestine is composed, the diversity of languages and the needs of a community of which 4.4% have had university education and 40.4% have passed through the secondary schools, make such activity imperative. The hardships of Palestinian life render this the more difficult, but just because of them the need for relaxation and a spiritual life to counteract the depressing effect of unremitting work becomes so much the greater.

The Hebrew language is taught to the workers by special courses in which 1,100 workers take part. Seminaries and study circles in literature, philosophy, economics, languages, etc., are organized by the Committee and the services of the best lecturers in the country are utilized. Itinerant lecturers visit the scattered workers' settlements and the villages. Vocational courses are organized in the towns. Excursions for scientific purposes or recreation frequently bring large numbers of workers together. *Hapoel,* the sport organization of the *Histadruth,* encourages sports and games and has taken an active part in international labor athletic meets. A Workers' Scouts movement has also developed under the guidance of the Educational Committee.

The Workers' Theatre, *Ohel,* which has established a high standard of dramatic art in Palestine, was founded under the

auspices of this Committee. Reading halls have been established by the Committee and its traveling library has 86 branches in towns, villages and workers' settlements. This library of 76,000 volumes is used by 5,000 readers.

The work done by the Educational Committee in providing adequate education in the spirit of Palestine labor to workers' children is indispensable. Nineteen progressive schools for 682 children and 36 nursery schools and kindergartens for 817 children are maintained by the Committee.

### NOAR HAOVED (ORGANIZATION OF JUVENILE WORKERS)

The objects of this organization are the protection and organization of juvenile workers; general education and vocational training; education of young workers in the ideals of Palestinian labor; and their transfer to productive labor, particularly to agriculture.

A general educational activity is conducted through evening schools attended by more than 300 working boys and girls. The curriculum includes all the usual subjects of elementary education and also provides for training in workshops of the organization. The clubs of juvenile workers have a membership of 1,500. They assemble in the evenings to read, hear lectures and hold discussions. They have their own libraries and reading halls.

Their trade sections are affiliated with the general trade unions. The economic position of juvenile workers has been considerably improved by the struggle waged on behalf of their members. Hours of labor have been shortened and wages raised. However, labor conditions are still unsatisfactory. The efforts to arouse the Government to pass legislation for the protection of juvenile labor have had only partial success.

### PRESS

The workers' daily, *Davar,* has a wide circulation and carries much cultural material as well as general, foreign and labor news. It publishes a children's supplement monthly, and until recently published an English and German weekly supplement. Several weekly and monthly magazines serve certain parties within the Labor Movement, and others serve certain trades and occupations. *Hasadeh* is an agricultural weekly for the laborer.

### POLITICAL ACTIVITY

Constructive economic trade-union and educational activity of the labor movement is subservient to its central socialist-Zionist idea. There is no uniformity of conception in ideology and tactics. The labor movement is therefore divided into different political parties. Although certain political actions, such as elections to municipalities, are left to the Federation of Jewish Labor, the political struggle is mainly carried on by the parties. The Palestine Labor Party is most influential. Its program comprises the following points:

1. The union of all workers in the country according to their trades into one autonomous Trades-Union authority, which directs the economic and educational work of the movement; 2. Affiliation with the Zionist Organization and the Socialist International; 3. Nationalization of land and of all national resources so as to make them the inalienable property of the Jewish Nation; 4. Facilitating the immigration of pioneers who are to prepare the land for the anticipated mass colonization and form the Labor Class in the country; and 5. The spreading of Hebrew and the national culture.

The Palestine Labor Party participates in the *Assefat Hanivharim, Vaad Leumi,* Zionist Congress and in the Socialist International.

The following are independent labor groups in Palestine. They are part of the Federation of Labor, but not of the *Histadruth Meuchad,* which is the political labor party.

The *Hashomer Hatzair* is a group which aims at a synthesis of economic, cultural and political activity with educational work in the *Hashomer Hatzair* youth movement in the Diaspora. It differs in its attitude from the Palestine Labor Party in emphasizing more the necessity of organization of Arab labor and of a determined class struggle.

The left *Poale Zion* Party is orthodox Marxian. Its program includes: Immigration of Jewish workers into Palestine; organization of Arab labor jointly with Jewish workers; and relentless class war. This left wing group is not affiliated with the Zionist Organization.

All these groups are essentially united as far as their positive

attitude to Zionism is concerned; and their solidarity in some important points is evident, notwithstanding far-reaching differences of opinion.

The small communist group affiliated with the third international is bitterly opposed to Zionism and to the entire activity of all other labor organizations and parties in this country. It aims at creating an Arab popular movement with a sprinkling of Jewish workers which would conduct here the struggle against the British régime. It has been expelled from the General Federation of Jewish Labor.

### AFFILIATIONS

The Jewish Labor movement in Palestine is a part of the movement of Jewish workers and of the International Labor Movement all over the world. It is affiliated with several international labor organizations, such as the Trades Unions International and the International Cooperative Alliance. The supporters and sympathizers of its work (Jewish labor parties and unions, the Zionist Socialist Youth Movement) are organized in most countries in Leagues for Palestine Workers. In Berlin, in August, 1930, at the first Congress for "Working Palestine," there were represented 238,000 organized friends of Palestinian labor.

# THE LAW OF PALESTINE

BY NORMAN BENTWICH

## OTTOMAN LAW

It is sometimes thought by persons outside of Palestine that a Jewish system of law is in process of being established as the law of the land. That, however, is not the case. Jewish law has a very restricted sphere of application. In accordance with the mandate, which is the constitution of Palestine, it is recognized in relation to matters of personal status of Jews. But the fundamental law of the country remains, as it was in the Ottoman regime, the Turkish codes. It is the British practise to maintain in territories that come under British administration any civilized system of law which was previously in force. And by the Palestine Order in Council, 1922, which is the constitutional charter of the mandated territory, the courts in Palestine are directed to apply, in the first place, the Ottoman Law in force in November, 1914, and such later Ottoman laws as have been declared to be in force. Subject to this, they are to apply Orders in Council, Ordinances, and Regulations that have been enacted by the British Administration.

## AMENDMENTS AND MODIFICATIONS

The Government of Palestine has indeed been busy during the twelve years of its rule in passing legislation for the amendment or replacement of the Ottoman Law, which was not in many ways suitable for the needs of a modern state. The commercial law of the Turks, which was based on the French system, has been entirely replaced by ordinances that follow English models; a large part of the criminal code has been similarly replaced, and the criminal procedure has been recast in accordance with English principles. But the code of civil law, which is known as the *Mejelle*, and was a compilation of Moslem jurisprudence made in the middle of the nineteenth century, still remains in force with little modification,

The Turk in his own land, moved by the ardor for modernism, has swept away that traditional code, but the English legislator in Palestine has merely introduced detailed modifications, particularly concerning the rules about evidence, which were mediaeval in conception, and the rules concerning arbitration, which by irritating restrictions hampered that method of settling disputes.

The Ottoman system included a separate code of Land Law which was based partly on Moslem rules and partly on Turkish customs. That Land Code also has remained in force in Palestine and although there has been a large amount of detailed amendment, its broad principles have not been affected. The Civil Code has for the Moslems the sanction of religion, the Land Code the sanction of custom, and both are in accord with the habits of the Arab inhabitants. Certain anomalies have been removed from the law relating to land, such as the rule that a non-Moslem could not inherit from a Moslem or a foreigner from a citizen; the law of mortgage has been modified so as to make it suitable to modern circumstances; and the power of corporations to hold land, which was narrowly restricted by the Turks, has been widened. In connection with the title to land, also, the system of registration, which in Ottoman times was notoriously corrupt and fallacious, has been completely reformed. The Government is now engaged in carrying out a cadastral settlement which should put upon a firm and reliable basis the rights of the owners and occupants of all the land in the country.

### NEW LEGISLATION

Besides amending the Ottoman Codes or replacing them, the Government of Palestine has introduced a vast amount of more modern legislation to reform the administrative system of the country and to provide for a number of fresh social activities which were unknown in the Ottoman regime. While the Arab community is for the most part simple in its requirements of social legislation, the Jewish *Yishub* constantly demands the most progressive measures of law. To meet its requirements principally, the Government has made a beginning with labor legislation. It has enacted an ordinance to provide compensation for death or injury incurred in the course of employment. The ordinance is based upon

English law, though it is considerably restricted in its scope. It has enacted also legislation with regard to the employment of women and children in industry, the inspection of factories, the fencing of machinery, and the prohibition of certain dangerous processes, such as the use of white lead. With regard to moral matters, it has introduced into the criminal law the provisions of the international conventions concerning offences against women and children and has amended the Ottoman law concerning such offences, which was inadequate. By another series of enactments, it has provided for the regulation of the professions, and in this connection it is interesting to note that it has sanctioned the admission of women as lawyers. The High Court of Palestine interpreted the ordinance as entitling women to practice and the Government then expressly confirmed that principle, limited only by a restriction of women lawyers in the Tribal Courts of the Arabs, where the idea of woman's equality could not be understood, and in the Moslem Religious Courts, where the admission of women must await the approval of the Moslem Authorities. Women are freely admitted into all branches of the medical profession.

### THE APPLICATION OF JEWISH LAW

To return now to the sphere in which Jewish law is applied. In Palestine prior to the British Occupation, as in all parts of the Ottoman Empire, there was no single territorial law with regard to matters of personal status, i.e., marriage, guardianship, and succession. These topics were left by the Turks for determination by the religious law. The Mandatory Government has maintained the system; and today Moslems apply the rules of the *Sharia,* as prescribed by the Prophet and developed by other jurists; the Christians apply the edicts of the Byzantine Emperors; the Jews apply their Rabbinical Codes. The different laws are applied by different courts, each religious community having its tribunals recognized by the State, which adjudicate on these matters. The Palestine Order in Council prescribes that the Rabbinical Courts of the Jewish Community shall have

(a) exclusive jurisdiction in matters of marriage, divorce, alimony, and confirmation of wills of members of the community other than foreigners;

(b) jurisdiction in any other matter of personal status of such persons, where all the parties to the action consent to their jurisdiction;

(c) exclusive jurisdiction over any case as to the constitution or the internal administration of a *Wakf* or religious endowment constituted before the Rabbinical Court according to Jewish law.

The jurisdiction of the Jewish Courts is restricted to those Jews who are members of the organized community, the *Kenesseth Israel*. Those who stand outside that community are subject in these matters to the jurisdiction of the Civil Courts, which can now deal with matters of personal status of all persons who are not within the competence of the religious tribunals. The Civil Courts, however, in dealing with these matters of personal status, are directed to apply the personal law of the parties, which for Jews is the religious law, in the absence of any ordinance issued by the Government of Palestine. A Succession Ordinance has been enacted by the Government which lays down rules of testamentary and intestate succession similar to those of Western countries, but hitherto no ordinance has been passed with regard to matters of marriage and divorce, and the Civil Courts would therefore apply to Jews the Jewish law on these matters.

The application of the Jewish law is restricted also to Jews who are Palestinian citizens. Jews who have retained their foreign nationality remain in matters of personal status under their national law. An article of the Order in Council, however, provides that foreigners may consent to such matters being tried by the courts of the religious communities having jurisdiction in like matters affecting Palestinian citizens, but the Jewish religious courts have not power to grant a decree of divorce to a foreign subject. It is to be noted, also, that the jurisdiction of the Jewish Courts in matters of succession and guardianship is not exclusive, but is concurrent with that of the Civil Courts. That means that any Jewish party to a dispute in a matter of succession or guardianship may require the case to be referred to the Civil Court and to be governed by the civil law in place of the jurisdiction of the Jewish Courts applying Rabbinical law.

MISHPAT HASHALOM—(JEWISH PEACE COURTS)

The only Jewish Courts which have jurisdiction sanctioned by the Government are the Rabbinical tribunals, applying the religious law in family matters, but there has been a remarkable development of Jewish tribunals dealing with ordinary civil and commercial matters. They are tribunals of arbitration known in Hebrew as the *Mishpat Hashalom* (Peace Courts). These tribunals had their origin before the British Occupation, when the Jewish population avoided as far as possible, and for sufficiently good reason, recourse to the Turkish courts. It was the practise in each Jewish quarter of a town and in Jewish villages to appoint arbitrators who disposed of any questions that might arise between Jews with regard to contracts, sales, commercial agreements, and the like.

After the Occupation, the system of arbitration tribunals was considerably developed; a tribunal of appeal was established to which the parties could have recourse from an award made by the local tribunal, and in the towns regular paid members of the Peace Courts were appointed with legal training both in Jewish and European law. The tribunals apply a law and procedure which is indefinite and eclectic. Sometimes they give effect to the rules of Jewish law, sometimes to the rules of a European code, sometimes to the principles of equity and natural justice. The Peace Courts remain a permanent feature of Jewish life in Palestine and are the normal instrument in the villages for disposing of civil disputes between Jewish parties. The Government has assisted the resort to arbitration by sweeping away the anomalies that existed in the Ottoman Law with regard to the procedure and recognition of arbitration. The execution of awards by the Jewish Peace Courts is thereby rendered more certain and expeditious. These voluntary tribunals, therefore, offer a field for the development of Jewish law in cases affecting the Jewish citizens of *Eretz Israel* and there are already the beginnings of a jurisprudence which are recorded in the numbers of a learned Jewish legal monthly known as the *Hamishpat Haivri.* In this way the Land of Israel is developing, by the side of the State law, a modern Jewish law in civil and commercial matters.

### A JEWISH CITY AS LEGISLATOR

There is one Jewish law-making authority in the country which can issue by-laws recognized by the civil Government. The Urban Council of Tel Aviv, while not formally a municipality, possesses powers equal to, and in some respects larger than, those of municipalities, including the power to issue regulations for the good order of the township. In the exercise of that power some years ago, it passed a by-law requiring shops and factories and business places to be closed on the Sabbath day. Restaurants might be open at certain hours and non-Jewish proprietors were exempted from the prohibition. A Jewish restaurant-keeper was prosecuted before the local Bench of Tel Aviv for an infringement of the law, and was convicted. He appealed then to the higher Court; and the judgment was quashed on the ground that the by-law was invalid as violating the governing principle of the Mandate, that there must be no discrimination on the ground of religion. The prohibition against opening by Jews and the exemption granted to others amounted to such a discrimination. The Supreme Court upheld that finding, and the by-law was therefore disallowed. Since the judgment, no attempt has been made to enforce by legislation the observance of the Sabbath in Jewish quarters and villages. The Hebraic social law may, however, be developed by custom in the *Yishub,* and the moral sanction may take the place of the sanction by the State.

# AGRICULTURAL RESOURCES, DEVELOPMENT, AND POSSIBILITIES OF PALESTINE

BY DAVID HOROWITZ

## THE PLACE OF AGRICULTURE

Agriculture occupies the most important place in Palestinian economics. This contention is borne out by the fact that the bulk of the inhabitants of this country live on agriculture and the products of the soil form approximately as much as 80% of its exports.

This relative importance is not confined to the present period. The agricultural resources of the country in the past can be gauged from the fact that according to historical sources the population of Galilee alone in the time of Jesus numbered about 700,000 people. This population was mainly rural and Palestine was an essentially agricultural country.

Recently all the research work undertaken with the view to exploring the economic possibilities of this country for the future concentrated mainly upon this branch of its economy.

## CULTIVABLE AREA

The cultivable area of Palestine was estimated by the Commissioner of Lands of the Government of Palestine at 12,233,000 dunams (3,058,250 acres). This is a fairly conservative estimate considering that the term cultivable land includes only land which is cultivated or can be brought under cultivation "by the application of the labor and financial resources of the average individual Palestinian cultivator."

However, this area varies largely in respect of quality of soil, natural resources and irrigation facilities, according to the zones into which it is divided.

According to the estimate made by the Commissioner of Lands, the cultivable area is distributed as follows:

| | Dunams |
|---|---|
| Five principal Plains north of Beersheba sub-district | 5,216,000 |
| Hill Country | 5,376,000 |
| Plain of Beersheba sub-district | 1,641,000 |
| | 12,233,000 |

Of these three zones the least explored is the *Plain of Beersheba.* It is sparsely populated by nomadic Bedouins and its land is mainly used for pasture. There are extensive areas of good to excellent land, but the low rainfall prevents profitable cultivation. Sir John Hope Simpson states in his report that, "Up to the present time there has been no organized attempt to ascertain whether there is or is not an artesian supply of water. If there prove to be such a supply, the problem of providing agricultural land for the Palestine population and, indeed, for a large number of immigrant settlers, will be easy of solution."

The extent of agricultural resources of the *Hill Country* is a subject of controversy. The differences in the various estimates of the cultivable area arise through application of different criteria. In the Hill Country cereals and fruit trees are grown. The latter allow for more profitable exploitation of the land than the former, and render a larger proportion of the area cultivable. In this respect again a remark of Hope Simpson is illuminating:

". . . even the most rocky hillsides support trees, especially olives, and if capital were available, many of the cultivators of these exiguous and infertile plots would be able to gain a livelihood by cultivation of fruit trees and of olives."

Irrigation facilities are very scanty in this region.

The most important and fertile agriculture areas of Palestine are situated in the *Five Plains.* They consist of the:

*Maritime Plain,* which is irrigable to 80% of its cultivable area and most suitable for intensive agriculture based chiefly on citrus plantation, i.e., a form of agriculture of a conspicuous industrial character;

*Acre Plain,* with land partly suitable for irrigated plantations and partly for mixed farming and with ample water supply from springs and streams;

*Valley of Esdraelon (Emek)*, which is regarded as the most fertile tract of Palestine, in particular for cereal growing, and which has good irrigation facilities;

*Huleh Plain,* the soil of which all authorities agree in classifying as some of the most productive in the world and wholly irrigable, provided that a thorough drainage of the malaria infested marsh and Lake of Merom is carried out;

*Plain of the Jordan,* which is described as follows by Hope Simpson:

"The land in the north of the Jordan Valley is very fertile; in the south, with irrigation, it will grow all kinds of tropical fruits and early vegetables. Properly developed, the Jordan Valley might prove a great source of wealth to the country. In ancient times it undoubtedly supported a large population."

### QUALITY OF THE SOIL

However, this topographical classification of regions is not identical with agricultural zones, as land of varying quality is situated in each of these belts. The term "cultivable land" does not adequately define the agricultural resources of a certain area. This definition is highly controversial and its application depends upon the type of cultivation in the Hill Country, possibilities of irrigation in the Beersheba region, drainage of swamps in the Huleh Plain, irrigation facilities in various parts of the Five Plains.

The differences between the various categories of cultivable land in respect of profitableness of cultivation cannot be overestimated. Whereas 15 dunams of land may support a family in the region of intensive agriculture based chiefly on irrigated plantations and on exports of its products abroad, 100 dunams are required in the region which is the home of mixed farming including corn-growing, the cultivation of vegetables, fruit-growing, cattle breeding, poultry and bee-keeping, and 200 dunams would be hardly sufficient in the arid parts of the Beersheba region where cereals only can be grown, and these only by methods of dry farming.

The great difference in the profitableness and accordingly in the capacity of absorption of agricultural population in the various

zones is amply proved by an estimate of the value of produce in the two principal branches of agriculture in Palestine. The value of the whole annual wheat crop of Palestine, the product of approximately 1,700,000 dunams, reaches LP 1,000,000, whereas the value of the crop of about 30,000 dunams of fruit-bearing orange groves is estimated at LP 1,500,000 and of the 115,000 dunams of already planted groves would approach LP 5,000,000 to LP 6,000,000.

### THE FACTOR OF IRRIGATION

Thus in surveying the agricultural resources of Palestine it is imperative to differentiate between the irrigable plantation area and other agricultural zones of this country.

The area suitable for irrigated plantations is estimated in the Report of the Experts (Palestine Joint Survey Commission) at 300,000 dunams and by experts of the Jewish Agency at 500,000 dunams. This area is one of the most important assets of Palestine, and it makes possible a large expansion of the plantations which cover now about 115,000 dunams.

Plantations are not confined to this area. There are other extensive tracts of land suitable for irrigated or for non-irrigated plantations, on which citrus fruits (oranges, lemons, grapefruit) cannot be profitably grown. Bananas in particular are worthy of mention as an export product of irrigated plantations. Non-irrigated plantations also occupy an important position. The oldest of these branches is vine and grape-growing. Almonds cover a considerable area. Olives, figs, dates, carobs, pomegranates, and walnuts are grown in Palestine. Strawberries have already passed the experimental stage. Deciduous fruit trees succeed in certain places. Melons are an export product of Palestine.

On irrigated soil vegetables are successfully grown for the supply of the domestic market and also with a view to exporting them abroad in the future.

Cereal growing is essential for the development of agriculture in Palestine, for the supply of the home market which imports a considerable quantity of grain from abroad, and to a greater extent as a basis for mixed farming, for the dairy industry, poultry raising, etc.

The differences of climate, quality of soil, rainfall, etc., are factors making for variation in the agriculture of Palestine. For the survey of agricultural resources of this country, the description included in the Report of the Government of Palestine of 1921 is illuminating:

". . . Within the limits of a province, it offers the varieties of soil and climate of a continent. . . . The rainfall of Jerusalem equals that of London. The water problem, over most of the country, is not a question of quantity, but of storage, of pumping and of distribution.

"It is obvious to every passing traveller, and well-known to every European resident, that the country was before the War, and is now, undeveloped and under-populated. The methods of agriculture are, for the most part, primitive; the area of land now cultivated could yield a greater product. There are in addition large cultivable areas that are left untilled. The summits and slopes of hills are admirably suited to the growth of trees, but there are no forests. Miles of sand dunes that could be redeemed are untouched, a danger, by their encroachment, to the neighboring village. The Jordan and the Jarmuck offer an abundance of water power; but it is unused."

## INTRODUCTION OF MODERN METHODS

Agriculture is the natural basis, the background for human activity and work. The dynamic factor of human material, of influx of capital and of methods applied, transform this basis and adapt it in the course of historic development to human needs.

The development of agriculture in Palestine is characterized by penetration of western active forces into a backward, primitive agricultural economy, by changes wrought in the fabric of life and economy thanks to their revolutionizing influence. The process of transformation is both economic and technical. High capitalization, transition to modern agriculture with products marketable in home and foreign markets, new technical methods raising the productivity of human labor and the fertility of soil, combine to shift the emphasis from self-sufficient farming of primitive character, based on low productivity and cheap labor, to a highly commercialized, modern, agricultural industry.

## THE PRIMITIVE BACKGROUND

Since times immemorial the poverty stricken *fellaheen* have conducted their backward, primitive husbandry.* "There were no demands on it other than to supply the meagre living needs of a primitive people, who knew no luxury, and to whom hard and ceaseless toil was accepted as inevitable and entirely natural." A feudal system of economy harmonized well with primitive agriculture based mainly on cereal growing. The market was undeveloped and in a country of practically unlimited supply of cheap labor, there was no incentive to apply machinery; extensive areas of cultivable but uncultivated land called for an extensive system of agriculture. Crops were very poor, averaging half the production of a similar area in Canada. The difference between the crops in Jewish farms and those in a *fellah's* farm show to what extent the low productivity of agriculture in Palestine was due to the primitive system of cultivation. Whereas the average crop of wheat on a *fellah's* farm is 60 kilos per dunam, 110 to 120 kilos per dunam is the usual yield on a Jewish farm.

The Director of the Agricultural Experiment Station of the Jewish Agency ** describes the indigenous agriculture as follows:

"The land is starved, as for generations it had only to yield and received nothing to redeem its strength exhausted by many crops. The cultivator is starving, as the land . . . cannot provide him with food. The following features are therefore characteristic of primitive agriculture: low productivity, inferior quality of grain, a standard of life below the poverty line, insufficient wages and sparse population."

## EFFECTS OF JEWISH COLONIZATION

However, new ventures upon which Jewish colonization embarked wrought fundamental changes in the character of agri-

* A wooden plow drawn by a donkey and a camel or ox is the usual method of cultivation. (Ed.)

** The Jewish Agency maintains two Agricultural Experiment Stations, which work in direct touch with the farmers, encourage the introduction of new plants, and fight plant pests. The Department of Agriculture of the Government of Palestine comes to the farmers' help in various ways. Among its activities are the organization of an Agricultural Council, with Jewish and Arab representatives, the maintenance of Agricultural Experiment Stations and Stud farms, afforestation, assistance in the fight against locusts, field mice, cattle plague and plant pests. (Ed.)



PLOWING IN KFAR YECHEZKEL

culture in Palestine. In its new departure Jewish colonization was confronted with several tasks essential for its further development. The productivity of labor had to be raised by labor-saving devices; the fertility of the soil had to be increased; agricultural industry had to be varied and ramified by introduction of new cultures.

Before the beginning of Jewish settlement, the village Mulebbis, which became afterwards Petah-Tikva, consisted chiefly of swamps and sand and was covered by thorny bushes and weeds. It was considered exceedingly unhealthy. The place where Rehoboth is now situated was formerly a desert, barren and waste. Hederah was fever-ridden and ostensibly unfit for human habitation. In the decade following the War, similar improvements were made in other districts. Sixteen thousand dunams of the Nuris area had been covered by swamps. For many generations it was a hopeless breeding place of malaria, from which practically all its inhabitants suffered. Extensive drainage work was carried out there, as the result of which the marshes were reclaimed. An irrigation plant was set up with a network of pipes totalling ten and a half kilometres. Sanitary conditions were completely changed in this area. In Nahalal also the swamps were breeding places for malaria. The colony of Germans who had tried to settle there was dissolved. Many having died, the rest left this infested place. After thorough drainage work, the percentage of malaria dropped from 40% in 1923 to 25% in 1924. This drainage work, as well as irrigation canals and water supply, cost the Jewish National Fund LP 25,000.

The following passage in the final report (1920-1925) of Sir Herbert Samuel illustrates this development work:

"The most striking result in this sphere that has been achieved during the past few years has been in the Valley of Esdraelon. This is a belt of deep rich soil which stretches for forty miles from the sea at the Bay of Acre eastwards down into the Jordan Valley. . . . When I first saw it in 1920, it was a desolation. Four or five small and squalid Arab villages, long distances apart from one another, could be seen on the summits of low hills here and there. For the rest, the country was uninhabited. Not a house, not a tree. Along a branch of the Hejaz railway an occasional train stopped at deserted stations. A great part of the soil was in the ownership of absentee Syrian landlords. The river Kishon, which flows through the Valley, and the many springs which feed it

from the hillsides, had been allowed to form a series of swamps and marshes, and, as a consequence, the country was infested with malaria. Besides, public security had been so bad under the former régime, that any settled agriculture was in any case almost impossible. By an expenditure of nearly LP 900,000, about fifty-one square miles of the Valley have now been purchased by the Jewish National Fund and other organizations. . . . An active trade in dairy produce has sprung up, mostly finding a market, by means of the railway, in Haifa. The whole aspect of the Valley has been changed. The wooden huts of the villages, gradually giving way to red-roofed cottages, are dotted along the slopes; the plantations of rapidly growing eucalyptus trees already begin to give a new character to the landscape; in the spring the fields of vegetables or of cereals cover many miles of the land, and what five years ago was little better than a wilderness is being transformed before our eyes into a smiling country-side."

However, amelioration work was only preliminary to colonization work proper. Dr. Ruppin, in his survey of colonization work in Palestine, 1930, describes as follows the advance made in agriculture:

"Forty-three Jewish agricultural settlements with an area of 450,000 dunams was what we had to show at the end of the War. At present our settlements number 115, their area covering 1,200,000 dunams. The Jewish rural population, which was 15,000 in 1920, is now over 40,000. In order to gauge the full significance of this progress, we must not forget that the figures for 1920 were reached after forty years of colonization, whereas the difference between them and the present position represents an interval of only ten years. That means that between 1880 and 1920 the average annual increments in men and area were, so far as agricultural colonization is concerned, 400 men and 11,000 dunams, whereas the rate of progress in the last ten years has been 2,400 men and 75,000 dunams per annum. . . . The population of settlements financed by the *Keren Hayesod* is now 10,000, the corresponding figure for 1920 being 500. The *Keren Hayesod* settlements have between them 5,000 heads of cattle, two-thirds of which are pedigreed, and over 100,000 fowls." (160,000 according to recent census.—Ed.)

The development of agriculture, thanks to investment of capital and introduction of modern methods and of highly trained

labor and management, is particularly evident in two branches, (a) plantations and (b) mixed farming. The first concentrated mainly in the coastal belt, the second in the *Emek*. These two areas are representative of modern agriculture in Palestine.

### PLANTATIONS: CITRUS CULTURE

In no other field of activity has development in recent years been so striking as in the citrus industry. It may indeed be said that this progress has been the dominating factor in the economic life of the country. The expansion of the industry since 1921 is shown by the fact that the total citrus area at that time was 30,000 to 35,000 dunams, of which 9,000 were owned by Jews, whereas today the figures are 115,000 and 58,000 dunams respectively.

Together with the extension in area, exports of fruit show continuous increase. Figures are available for the quantity exported to Great Britain since 1887-1888. Exports in that year amounted only to 100,000 boxes. In 1900, the number of boxes exported rose to 226,000. Ten years later, the figure had increased to 628,000, and in 1914, when the War put a temporary stop to development, as many as 910,000 boxes were being exported. The striking development since the War may be gauged from the fact that in 1930 export of oranges reached about 2,500,000 boxes.

The technical progress made is astounding. The preparation of land is done by machines instead of hand labor. By this improvement the raising of wages and the reduction of capital outlay in an orange grove was made possible. The planting of trees at a larger distance apart than hitherto promoted introduction of machinery in cultivation work and had the same effects in respect of wages and investment as mechanization in preparation of land. Modern installation and irrigation plants driven by electricity from the Ruttenberg Works, instead of primitive water wheels worked by camels and donkeys, cheapened and improved irrigation. Selection of seedings, budding in the nursery, combatting of pests by scientific methods, adequate planning of groves to be laid out, promoted the development of this industry. The yield per dunam was raised in modern groves from 70 to 75 boxes to 110 to 150 boxes on the average. Grapefruit was introduced and found suitable for planting in areas which are not fit for orange

groves. Excellent grapefruit is now grown in Palestine and exported.

This rapid progress was due to application of new methods and investment of large amounts of capital. As much as LP. 11,000,000 is the immediate and progressive capital outlay of the industry, as the investment in one dunam of an orange grove amounts to from LP. 70 to LP. 100 till the fruitbearing stage is reached.

### MIXED FARMING

Not less remarkable was the development in the region of mixed farming.

The average crop yield of a dunam under Jewish cultivation in Jezreel is 110 kilos, as compared with 60 kilos obtained by the Arab peasant. As the produce of Jewish modern mixed farms reaches the market in an improved form, i.e., grain and fodder crops transformed into dairy and poultry products, the income is considerably higher. Whereas the *fellah* has from his farm of 150 dunams an income of LP. 50 to LP. 60 per year, the corresponding figure is LP. 250 to LP. 300 with the Jewish farm. Whereas the annual milk yield of an Arab cow is 700 litres, the pedigree cow in a Jewish settlement yields 3,000 litres and even the improved Arab cow has come to give 2,500 litres. The hen in the Jewish farm lays 150 eggs per annum which is double the yield of a *fellah's* hen. 1,000,000 eggs, 3,290,000 litres milk, 157,000 bananas, 341,000 kilos grapes, and 1,500 tons of vegetables were sold in 1931 by the *T'nuva* Co-Operative Marketing Association. Before the War, the total volume of milk produced and sold by Jews was about 100,000 litres. The figure of 3,290,000 litres does not include the consumption by the population in the settlements.*

### INTENSIVE FARMING

The Palestine peasants cannot compete in the production of grain with Canada and Australia. They have not the technical equipment, the virgin soil, nor, above all, the vast areas of those countries. In order to compete, the peasants were continually forced to lower their standard of life, and farming could not serve

*Two of the oldest Palestinian occupations, fishing and shepherding, are also being successfully practised by Jews. (Ed.)

as a basis for absorption of Jewish immigration. The Jewish human material, with its intelligence and quick grasp of technical and industrial problems, nevertheless lacks agricultural tradition and is unaccustomed to the stagnant life of earth-bound peasantry.

In spite of this lack of agricultural tradition, since this human material came chiefly from the town, from among the intellectual and commercial professions, the transition from primitive to modern agriculture succeeded through the application of science and intelligence.

### POSSIBILITIES AND PROSPECTS

The possibilities and prospects of agriculture in Palestine are indicated by some figures relating to both citrus industry and mixed farming.

About 2½ million boxes of oranges are exported from plantations covering approximately 30,000 dunams. The gross income amounts to LP. 1,500,000 per year. When the citrus plantations already laid out on an area of about 115,000 dunams reach the fruitbearing stage, their crop will amount to from 11 to 12 million boxes.

As far as settlements in the area of mixed farming are concerned, the figures quoted for the produce of these settlements were reached before they had been consolidated. The same settlements can easily absorb 8,000 additional cows and produce 20,000,000 litres of milk. This is an example for one particular branch indicative of possibilities in others. Without any doubt the production of the mixed farming zone will yet grow, and the present peak achievements of some farms will be equalled by others.

### MARKETING

When the capacity of land and men has been proved and the general level of production raised, the problem of marketing stands in the foreground of agriculture in Palestine. This problem has its bearings on the general economic position of the country. The negative trade balance of the country and large imports of food bear testimony to the truth of this contention.

The world consumption of fruit, oranges in particular, has markedly increased within recent years. In Great Britain the value of imported fruit, which amounted to less than 7*s* per head of

population in 1913, had risen by 1924 to LP. 1 per head per annum. A further advance for Palestine citrus fruits on the British market may be anticipated.

In regard to the produce of mixed farming, much depends on the rate of immigration and growth of urban centres, upon industrial development, etc. The increased capacity of absorption of the home market, by raising the standard of life of both Jewish and Arab working masses and by an improvement in the economic status of the *fellaheen*, would be an essential factor for the progress of mixed farming. The development of Haifa as a large Mediterranean port, of great industry and commerce, may extend the home market. The experiments of *T'nuva* in exporting products of mixed farming to Europe, Egypt and Syria bear promise of new openings.

At any rate, in respect of marketing the prosperity of agriculture is dependent upon other branches of economy as well as upon political-economic developments, such as customs policy and the condition of countries importing Palestine products.

Many difficulties still have to be overcome. But the road of transition from primitive to modern agriculture has been found, and the fulfillment of the hope for colonization on a grand scale depends upon the ability to extend old and to find new markets, and upon the amount of capital available for new ventures in agriculture.

# INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS

BY A. GOLDWATER, A.R.M.S.M.

## RURAL AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT

In his report of 1930 on the Mineral Resources of the country, the Geological Adviser to the Palestine Government says: "The country possesses an average of mineral wealth and, in a sense, it has unique resources, for the occurrences of Potash and Bromine in the Dead Sea are without parallel elsewhere on the earth. The principal wealth of the country will always be in its agriculture, and at least its requirements in the way of fertilizer can be easily supplied from its own resources."

Agriculture has always been the principal single industry of the country. The fertile soil of many parts of Palestine and the diverse climatic conditions favor the cultivation of a large variety of agricultural products and fruits. Although agriculture still holds the first place today, there has been an intensive development in other directions in the course of the last decade, during which the country has turned to productive account its sources of material wealth by the creation of a number of industries, the raw materials for which are derived either from the natural resources of the country or imported from abroad. There has been, in fact, a parallel development of rural and urban Palestine during that period. As a result of this, the danger of a one-sided development has been largely eliminated and the country's economy correspondingly reinforced by a growing industry which gives employment to a large number of workers and has materially improved the trade balance by the reduction of imports and the increase of exports of a number of articles locally manufactured.

## THE INDUSTRIAL SITUATION

In 1920, Palestine's industry on any considerable scale was confined to soap and wine, and the country imported practically all of its limited requirements in manufactured goods. The in-

dustries included about 1,200 enterprises which were still in existence in 1927, with a capital of about L.P. 1,000,000, employing about 2,000 workers. Only one-fifth of these enterprises were Jewish owned, but their capital was almost one-half of the total of all the enterprises and they gave employment to about 1,000 workers.

There have been created since 1920 and are now in operation over 2,000 industrial undertakings (including about 1,400 handicrafts) with an invested capital of over LP. 4,000,000 and employing about 17,000 workers, making together with the above figures a total of over 3,000 enterprises with a capital of over LP. 5,000,000 and employing about 20,000 workers.

Today the country's industry can produce the whole of its requirements in such commodities as soap, wines and other alcoholic products, cement, salt, refined olive and other edible oils, cattle cake, tobacco, cigarettes and matches, confectionery and chocolate, and a fair part of its requirements in hosiery, underwear and other wearing apparel, piece goods and sewing threads. There are up-to-date flour mills and biscuit manufacturers, tanneries and boot and shoe manufacturers, furniture and woodworking establishments, quarries, limeburners, brick and tile works, etc. There are modern iron and brass foundries capable of making heavy castings, carrying out general engineering work and also manufacturing motor car bodies of the type used for local omnibuses. Mention must also be made of the American Porcelain Tooth Company, which exports practically the whole of its production of artificial teeth, principally to England.

Lastly, there are the two electrical industries and Palestine Potash, Ltd.

From Lake Hula to Lake Tiberias there is a drop in altitude of 666 feet within a distance of about 10 miles, and from Lake Tiberias to Jisr-el Mujami there is a drop of about 166 feet within a distance of less than 8 miles. The utilization of the tremendous power contained in this rapid fall of a considerable body of water is the kernel of Ruttenberg's plan for the generation of electricity for Palestine.

Some time before 1920, when he first applied for the concession for the generation of electricity in Palestine and for the construction of irrigation works, Ruttenberg was confronted with the right claimed by the Greek subject, Euripides Mavrommatis,

to an absolute monopoly in supplying electricity and drinking water to Jerusalem and Jaffa and their environs, and in constructing irrigation works for the Jaffa district and for the whole Jordan Valley. Mavrommatis claimed these extensive monopolies on the basis of a grant by the Turkish Government to him, of which he never took advantage.

The result of this clash of interests was a decision by the International Court of Justice of The Hague to the effect that Mavrommatis' concession, insofar as Jerusalem and its vicinity was concerned, was valid, but that it had to be adapted to meet the changed economic conditions which obtained after the war. As far as the rest of the country was concerned, the Court held that his concessions were invalid.

By the end of 1925 the modification of the concession was accomplished and accordingly the concession was assigned in 1929 to the newly formed Electric and Public Service Corporation, Ltd., of Jerusalem, a corporation having a capital of £500,000, of which £285,000 is paid up. Its directors are all English.

In 1929 this corporation finished building a fuel power station for the supply of electricity. By the end of 1930 it was supplying 2,800 consumers in and around Jerusalem, and in October, 1932, it was announced that it would include the nearby towns of Rumallah and El Birah within its distribution area.

But even before The Hague Court handed down its decision on the Mavrommatis concession, Ruttenberg began supplying electricity to Jaffa, Tel Aviv and the colonies within the neighboring territory by means of a Diesel engine generating station constructed at Tel Aviv in 1923, and by 1925 he was supplying electrical energy to the districts of Haifa and Tiberias by means of similar generating stations in those two cities.

Use of electricity both for lighting and for power increased rapidly. While only 500,000 kilowatt hours were consumed in 1924, in 1930, 5,400,000 and in 1931, 8,500,000 kilowatt hours were used. This represents a seventeen-fold increase within 7 years. Of the total electricity consumed, industry uses 43% and agriculture 33%.

In 1924 there were only 10 miles of overhead transmission lines and 2 miles of underground cable transmitting electric energy at 6,300 volts. In addition, there was a low tension distribution main a little over 8 miles long. In 1930 this system included

94 miles of 66,000-volt lines, 101 miles of 22,000-volt lines, 26 miles of 6,600-volt transmission lines, and 115 miles of low voltage distribution mains. In 1931 there were 165 miles of high tension lines and 142 miles of low tension lines.

During the years 1930 and 1931 the number of consumers of electricity increased by 13%, the number of electric motors used increased by 24.5% and the number of kilowatt hours consumed increased by 57.7%.

But in Palestine, the generation of electricity in fuel power stations is much more expensive than that generated by water power, and it was Ruttenberg's plan to discontinue, except for emergency and standby service, the three fuel power stations as soon as the first of the hydroelectric plants was ready to operate. In 1927 he began the construction of the first part of his hydroelectric project at Jisr-el Mujami, not far from the point at which the Yarmuk River enters the Jordan, in order to utilize the 160 foot drop within the 8 miles between Lake Tiberias and Jisr-el Mujami. There in the early part of 1932 he completed the construction of a generating station, the ultimate continuous capacity of which will be 34,000 horsepower, and which is even now capable of generating 60 million kilowatt hours annually. The cost of electricity in Palestine has already dropped 40%, from 50 mils per kilowatt hour in 1930 to 30 mils per kilowatt hour in January, 1932. This refers to electricity used for lighting purposes; for power in industrial plants it is about 50% less.

Exploitation of the vast wealth of chemicals contained in the waters of the Dead Sea is now well under way. There are contained in these waters in a state of solution, 2 thousand million metric tons of potassium chloride, 980 million tons of magnesium bromide, 11 thousand million metric tons of sodium chloride, 22 thousand million metric tons of magnesium chloride and 6 thousand million metric tons of calcium chloride.

The development of the Dead Sea project began in 1930 and although by the terms of the concession it was contemplated that under present transportation conditions it would take as much as 5 years to reach a production of 15,000 tons a year, it had nearly reached that stage by 1932. By January of that year it was one year ahead of its building program, having constructed 9½ miles of dykes, 3 miles of canals, a 2,500 foot undersea pipeline 30 inches in diameter, 500 acres of salt pans, a factory to refine crude



MANUFACTURING PAPER GOODS, TEL AVIV



CHOCOLATE FACTORY, TEL AVIV

potash and two factories to extract bromine, to say nothing of a fresh water system, workshops and dwellings for workers, a Deauville interconnecting railway and an electricity generating station for furnishing power and light. The project now employs over 400 workers, of whom 170 are Jews.

Potash extracted from the Dead Sea promises to meet the competition of the European deposits (which furnish the bulk of the world's supply at present) because of the fact that, while the latter must be mined, the Dead Sea supply is made available largely by natural evaporation. The process consists of pumping the Dead Sea water into large evaporating pans where the very rapid natural evaporation—which amounts to 90 inches a year—draws off the liquid, leaving the chemical salts, which are then made ready in the factories for consumption.

The most valuable of the Dead Sea salts is potassium chloride (potash) which is used the world over as a fertilizer. It is estimated that the huge supply of potassium chloride present in these waters, plus the 40,000 metric tons which are added to this supply every year by the Jordan River, contains enough potash to supply the needs of the whole world for centuries to come, at the present rate of consumption, which is about 3 million metric tons a year.

In 1931 Palestine Potash, Ltd., harvested 13,000 tons of crude potash salts (known as Carnallite), as against a harvest of only a few thousand in 1930.

The second most valuable of these salts is magnesium bromide, which yields bromine. Bromine's principal use at the present time is in the manufacture of ethyl lead, though it is extensively used in photographic work and for medical purposes.

The first plant for the production of bromine was completed in February, 1931. Due to the fact that the Dead Sea waters have a bromine content several times greater than that of waters in other parts of the world, this first plant, though small, has a production capacity of more than one ton of refined bromine per day. By the end of 1932 a second plant for the production of bromine, with a capacity double that of the first plant, had been constructed. The prospects for the marketability of Palestine bromine are good, the whole 1931 production having been sold in England and having been found satisfactory.

At the present time, the Dead Sea products are transported to Jerusalem by trucks run on Diesel oil, and from there by train

to Haifa, Jaffa or Port Said. As production increases, however, this mode of transportation will become inadequate and some better means, probably a railroad, will have to be provided. By the terms of the concession agreement, the government obligated itself to build a railway or ropeway at the option of the concessionaires.

### EXPORT

The Director of Customs, Excise and Trade in his report dated July, 1931, says:

"Notwithstanding the general economic crisis existing in 1929 and 1930 and the considerable fall in world prices, certain branches of local industry have proved to be well established and have increased their production and developed a small export trade."

The only industrial products of any importance exported in 1921-1922 (and practically until the end of 1925) were soap and wine. Small quantities of curios made of olive-wood and brass, lace work, etc., were also exported. From 1925 onwards the list of manufactures exported was increased and includes now, in addition to the above mentioned articles, refined olive and edible oils, cattle cake and other oil products, tobacco, cement, carpets, stockings and hose, dressed and prepared leather and fancy leather goods, matzoth and biscuits, confectionery, sweets and chocolate, cheese, artificial teeth, thyme and other essential oils, and wearing apparel, including knitted goods. Industrial exports in 1930 were valued at LP. 484,000 and included soap (manufactured almost entirely by Arabs), valued at LP. 206,000. Practically all the balance of exports, valued at LP. 278,000, were produced in Jewish owned enterprises and compare with the corresponding figure of LP. 101,000 in 1926. These figures are not large, but they suffice to show the progress made in so short a period and under conditions far from ideal.

### JEWS IN INDUSTRY

The part played by Jews in the industrialization of the country is acknowledged by the Director of Customs, Excise and Trade, who says in his report for 1930:

"After the War, Jewish immigrants arrived with industrial experience and capital, and considerable progress was made in the establishment of a number of small factories producing a variety of articles and a few large factories for the manufacture of cement, vegetable oils, soap, flour, stockings, etc."

About sixty per cent of the industry of the country is either Jewish owned and operated or the result of Jewish initiative and enterprise. At the end of 1929 there were said to be in operation over six hundred enterprises carried on by Jews, having a capital of over LP. 2,000,000. In addition, there were said to be in operation 1,851 small Jewish concerns (handicrafts), having a total capital of LP. 139,000, employing 3,386 workers, and with a production (in 1929) of LP. 431,000. Thus at the end of 1929 there were over 2,400 enterprises, having a capital of about LP. 2,250,000 and employing about eleven thousand workers, which had an output in 1929 of over LP. 2,500,000. Since the year of that census, a number of small enterprises have been created, with capital aggregating over LP. 300,000.

The pioneer work done by these immigrants, particularly in the first half of the decade, also deserves recognition. The country was primitive in many respects and they had to contend with many adverse local factors. There were no port facilities and no means ashore of transporting heavy machinery. A 12% to 15% *ad valorem* customs duty had to be paid on all machinery imported. The cost of land rose abnormally with the demand and the cost of building was excessive. All these were factors which increased heavily the capital cost of establishment. Labor was inexperienced and had to be trained at the expense of industry, which added materially to the cost of production. It is not surprising that, under the circumstances, the new undertakings being burdened from the start with heavy overhead charges, there were a number of failures. It must be remembered, however, that many of those pioneers in Palestine industry, although practical men who had been successful in their own enterprises in the countries from which they came, were themselves partly responsible for the failures. They were prompted to undertake industry in Palestine by their confidence in the idea of the Jewish National Home and their ardent desire to play a part in building it up. And it was probably due to those ideals that they took too optimistic a view of the

prospects and closed their eyes to local difficulties and the additional capital required to overcome them. At the same time, organized Jewish labor already in the country and the newly arriving immigrants were making a coordinated effort, in association with the Zionist Executive, to maintain their economic and social standards. And in this they were largely supported by Jewish employers, who made it a principle to engage exclusively Jewish workers at a rate which would afford the worker an opportunity to maintain his standard of life while he was becoming skilled in this work. The General Federation of Jewish Labor grew from strength to strength and, with the advance in industry, the general development in other directions and also the importation of skilled artisans, Jewish labor became more skillful and efficient in its work, and the later established industries profited accordingly. In fact, Jewish workers are preferred today and are found engaged in all the most important works where skill, speed and efficiency are essential, although their rates of wages are higher by about forty per cent than the wages paid to Arab workers.

### DIFFICULTIES AND OBSTACLES

Some idea of the difficulties with which industry had to contend may be gathered from the following brief references to the development of power, communications, etc. In 1920 power that was required for industry and other purposes was generated from imported coal or oil. Although today coal and oil are still used, they have been replaced wherever possible by electricity supplied by the Palestine Electric Corporation. By 1924 the first fuel unit of that company was in operation in Tel Aviv and current was made available for industrial as well as for domestic purposes. This was followed by fuel units in Haifa and Tiberias, and in 1928 work was started on the Jordan Hydro-Electric Works. Now that operations have begun, current is available for industry at about one-half the rate previously charged for current supplied from the fuel units. In 1929 the Jerusalem Electric and Public Service Corporation Ltd. (which, as previously stated, has the concession for the supply of electricity to Jerusalem and the surrounding country within a radius of forty kilometres) completed its power house in Jerusalem and electricity today has largely replaced the earlier primitive lighting methods.

In 1920 internal communications consisted only of a limited road system, quite unfit for motor traffic. The memory of the efforts of the early pioneers to overcome what seemed insuperable difficulties will never be effaced. Where Tel Aviv stands today there existed then only sand dunes, on the edge of which there were a few houses. Machinery for brick works, tanneries and other industries, which were then being established, had to be rolled over the sands at enormous expense after they had been delivered ashore under primitive quayside conditions. Today Tel Aviv is a flourishing town, with a population of 46,000, and it is the center of small and medium-sized industries with an invested capital of over LP. 640,000 and employing almost 5,000 workers.

### TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATIONS

The road system throughout the country has been developed until today there are approximately 2,300 kilometres of road, comprising 800 kilometres with first-class metalled surface (including 200 kilometres tarred) and 1,500 kilometres of secondary roads (including 700 kilometres of roads between villages). The improvement in the road system encouraged the use of motor transport for passengers and freight. By 1922 there were in use 560 motor vehicles and 38 motorcycles, with a passenger capacity of 1,600. Today there are 2,860 motor vehicles (including 774 privately owned cars) and 326 motorcycles, with a capacity of 17,143 passengers and 670 tons of goods.

The railroads in 1920 comprised the Jaffa-Jerusalem line, the Haifa-Damascus line, and the line connecting with Egypt, which was laid only provisionally by the British Army during its advance. Although the Egypt line has since been modernized, the railroad today finds in motor transport a very serious competitor, as is the case in all countries with short hauls. Railway freight rates have never been favorable to internal trade and although slight reductions have been made in the railway rates, there is very little difference between the cost of transporting a ton of material between the two ports of Haifa and Jaffa, and the cost of bringing it from any European port. The motor transport rates are also unfavorable to industry. They are high chiefly because of the high cost of automobiles, accessories and gasoline, resulting largely from

the heavy import duties levied upon them. The import duties on automobiles is no less than 25% of their value. Palestinians generally agree that the Government taxes automobiles and their use so highly in order to keep railroad rates high, so that the railroad, which is Government owned and operated, may be self-supporting. The Government policy in this respect is retarding the development of the country.

All seaborne commerce in 1920 was discharged and loaded into lighters in the open roadsteads at the two ports of Haifa and Jaffa, where the equipment at the quays was primitive and quite inadequate even for the country's limited trade. The open roadsteads are still being used to the detriment alike of the commerce and industry of the country. At Jaffa, certain improvements have been made at the quay, which have to some extent facilitated the movement of goods there, but although about seventy per cent of the trade of the country is done through that port, it still remains without direct railroad communication. The abnormal tariffs for lighterage and landing of goods at this port in force in 1920 were modified in December, 1921, and these tariffs have for the most part remained in force until today. In a few cases only, slight reductions have been made, as in the case of soft wood and wood prepared for orange cases, the tariff on which was reduced from 290 mils to 240 mils per cubic metre. But there are instances where the costs today are even higher than they were in 1921, as, for example, in the case of timber, the lighterage and landing charges of which have increased from 290 mils in 1921 to 450 mils per cubic metre at the present time. At the Haifa port, too, similar increases can be noted on comparing the tariffs as set down by the Government for 1921 and 1930. The obstacles to the country's commerce and industry at Haifa will shortly be overcome with the completion of the Harbor Works, the construction of which was started in 1929. The Harbor at Haifa will solve one of the most serious problems of the exporting industries, particularly the citrus industry, the exports from which it is estimated will reach ten million boxes by 1942, and the Potash Company, whose output will probably amount to one hundred thousand tons per annum earlier than the year (1940) specified in the terms of their concession as the time when that output should be reached.

### CUSTOMS DUTIES

In 1920 all imported goods were subject to an *ad valorem* duty of 12%, with the exception of goods of Turkish or Egyptian origin, upon which the duty was only 8%. Today the *ad valorem* duty applies to very few commodities only. The majority of dutiable imports are subject to specific duties while a number of commodities, including a variety of raw materials for industry, are completely exempted. A close examination of the development of the Customs Tariff, however, would reveal little evidence of the Government's earlier desire either to assist industry or to cheapen the cost of building and construction work of all descriptions. It would show, on the other hand, that the Government directed its earlier policy towards the development of agriculture only by exempting from import duties (in 1921) all machinery required for agricultural purposes and certain manures and seed. The reduction made in the same year from 12% to 4% *ad valorem* duty on building materials was nullified by the change to specific duties on these materials in 1923, in which year, too, the *ad valorem* duties on a number of commodities, including gasoline and other fuel oils, were replaced by specific duties. It was not, however, until 1924 that machinery required for industrial purposes was exempt from customs duties. One year later coal, anthracite, crude petroleum and other fuel oils required for industry and for power were exempt, but it was not until 1926 that the Government first exempted certain raw materials which had to be imported for industry and which until then paid in almost all cases the same duties as the manufactured goods made from them.

### PROSPECTS FOR THE NEAR FUTURE

With the gradual elimination of some of these obstacles, the general improvement in the means of transport, a more favorable Customs Tariff, and the increased skill and efficiency of the workers, industry has been enabled to forge ahead. Many enterprises have already become well established and are now working at a profit, and some amongst the joint stock companies have declared dividends during the past few years. As the result of these developments and the satisfactory progress made, foreign capital has been attracted. The tobacco industry is an example of an essentially

Arab undertaking acquired by foreign capital, practically all the small Arab owned tobacco factories having been acquired by one of the large tobacco combines. There exists today only one tobacco factory owned and operated by Jews. The Jerusalem Electric and Public Service Corporation is an example of direct investment by an English concern.

It is clear that much of the spade work has been done and now that many of the disabilities under which industry has been carried on have been removed, it is only reasonable to expect further and accelerated progress with time, provided the Government by its future policy will give its further support to industry and remove the remaining disabilities. Palestine, although only a small country with a population of 1,035,154, is destined by its geographical position to become a distributing center between Europe and Asia and a very important link in the British Imperial scheme. It is a country, therefore, with a future as well as a past. Already there are signs of the world's recognition of this fact, and today the world oil interests are engaged in preliminary work connected with the laying of the Oil Pipe Line from Mosul to the Mediterranean at Haifa, with a branch line to Syria. The development of communications between Palestine and the hinterland through Iraq and Persia is only a question of time. A motor transport service for passengers and freight already exists. Palestine offers today, therefore, to those with vision, opportunities which may never recur.

# COOPERATIVE ENTERPRISES IN PALESTINE

BY HARRY VITELES

Cooperation is the practical application of the maxim, "In unity there is strength." Cooperation requires a union of individuals having similar interests, whether religious, social, political or economic.

The Jews, from the beginning of the economic revival in Palestine, or about 1870, have not only adopted nearly every type of cooperative activity found in other countries, but are also evolving new forms adapted to "a country in the making." Professor Charles Gide believes "the physical characteristics of the land are such as to encourage cooperation of one sort or another. . . . Sometimes there is no water and it must be brought from a distance; sometimes there is too much—stagnant, malaria infested —and it must be drained away. For such work individual enterprise is absolutely unfitted and the organized effort of many hands must be enlisted." In accordance with the Cooperative Societies Ordinance, 1920, every enterprise using the term "cooperative" must register and to be registered must have at least ten members. In November, 1931, there were 275 registered societies, but less than two-thirds were functioning. There are also a considerable number of cooperative enterprises, most of them having less than ten members, which are not registered. The Government's active contact is confined to requiring formally every cooperative to submit an annual balance sheet, Profit and Loss statement, and Returns certified by an auditor holding a Government license. The Palestine Government, unlike the governments in many other countries, has not granted any financial assistance, and except for a few minor reductions in stamp duties, has not granted any special facilities to the cooperative societies.

## AGRICULTURAL COOPERATION

*Cooperative marketing and purchasing* is one of the panaceas suggested for solving the world agricultural crisis. If it will not

eliminate, it will at least mitigate or ease the farmers' difficult position. Farmers in Holland, Denmark, and Sweden have overcome the disadvantages of a poor soil by uniting for the manufacture and sale of butter, cheese, etc.

Every Jewish village in Palestine has its cooperative or cooperatives to which the farmer delivers his milk, eggs and other agricultural products; or which purchase for the farmer his fodder, seeds, fertilizer, or from which he obtains seasonal and other credits needed. In many villages the farmers also buy and operate cooperatively agricultural machinery and devices such as incubators, tractors, threshing machines, etc.

The Cooperative Society of the Wine-Growers of the Cellars of Rishon Lezion and Zichron Jacob, Ltd., was organized in 1890, and embraces practically all the Jewish vintners. The first of Baron Edmond Benjamin de Rothschild's wine-cellars, having an aggregate capacity of 8,200,000 litres, was laid in 1889. Last year the total sales were about half a million dollars.

More than thirty years ago the Jewish orange-growers organized the "Pardess" Cooperative Society of Orange Growers, Ltd. (1900). In form this Society approximates the California Fruit Growers' Exchange. During the 1930-31 season this Cooperative shipped about half a million cases of oranges; this is about 50% of the Jewish and 20% of the total citrus fruit exported. The f.o.b. value of oranges shipped was about one-and-a-quarter million dollars.

One of the functions of the liquidated "*Mashbir,*" Palestine Workmen's Cooperative for the Supply and Marketing of their Products Ltd., was the sale of agricultural products of the workers' settlements. Practically all the milk, vegetables, eggs, honey, bananas, and table grapes produced by the Jewish farmers today are marketed through "T'nuva," Cooperative Marketing Association of the Jewish Agricultural Settlements, affiliated with the General Federation of Jewish Labor in Palestine. A requisite for membership is either self-labor or, if hired labor is used, Jewish labor. The turnover for this cooperative for the year 1930-31 was close to a million dollars.

A fourth instance of the Jewish farmers' aptitude for agricultural cooperative undertakings is the fact that practically the entire Jewish almond crop, which is over 90% of the total almond crop in Palestine, is marketed cooperatively. The four cooperatives han-

dling almonds are coordinated, competition and price-cutting are avoided and together they sell in a normal year about 600 tons at an f.o.b. value of about $100,000.

Of great importance to the farmer is an adequate veterinary service and insurance for livestock. The Jewish farmers have united into the "*Hacklait,*" Cattle Insurance Co. Ltd. (organized in 1919), into the "*Shomrani,*" Cattle Insurance Cooperative Society (founded in 1929), and into half a dozen other local cattle insurance companies. All the cattle cooperative insurance societies have about 1,400 members, who carry insurance for about $750,000 for 4,500 head of cattle.

A more recent development is that of cooperative irrigation or water societies, of which there are already about a dozen.

### KVUTZOTH, KIBBUTZIM, IRGUNIM, AND MOSHAVIM

A group having similar religious, political, economic, social or a combination of any or all of these motives pool their resources, substituting collective for individual property. As Professor Charles Gide points out in his book, "Communist and Cooperative Colonies," this is one of the oldest types of cooperatives, though not with a particularly brilliant past. In Palestine such cooperatives are known as "*Kvutzoth,*" "*Kibbutzim,*" and "*Irgunim.*" In Russia there are the "Collective Farms" which differ from the cooperative Settlements, Kvutzoth, etc., because whereas the latter are organized by the members themselves voluntarily, the Collective Farms are instituted and formed, sometimes under coercion, by the State in which the workers are given certain rights as workers, but not as owners.

Palestine was fertile soil for the seed of Cooperative or Collective Farm Settlements, the *Kvutzoth.* Like the cooperative settlements in other countries, the 24 *Kvutzoth* in Palestine with a total population of about 2,500 (about 30% of the Jewish agricultural population) include, for the most part, individuals from the same country, district or town who have like economic, political or social interests. Most of the *Kvutzoth,* unlike the collective farms in Russia, do not pay wages. The earnings are pooled and every member of the *Kvutzoth* gets what he needs—food, clothing, medical attention, cash assistance for relatives abroad, or assistance to bring these to Palestine. The sick are given special diets or sent away for

convalescence; the infirm are given the lighter tasks; the aged are allowed to continue to live their religious and traditional life. There is no personal property, whether it be a plough, a horse, or a cow, which a member of a *Kvutzah* can claim as being his own. He leaves the *Kvutzah* as empty-handed as he came. He can leave when he wishes, just as he joined without any coercion. The children are generally housed, both day and night, in central buildings. Although in some *Kvutzoth* there is specialization, every member must do the work assigned to him, including kitchen and police duty. In a few *Kvutzoth* family houses are being built; the children are then with the parents at night, and in some cases, children over a certain age remain with the parents all the time.

The forty odd groups of the "*Kibbutzim,*" "*Irgunim,*" and "*Hevroth,*" with about 2,500 members, differ from the *Kvutzoth* because

(a) a *Kvutzah* is an independent group which chooses its own members and is therefore generally "closed" and is not considered part of any other group. It may, however, join a *Kibbutz,* and the present tendency is to do so.

(b) A *Kibbutz* is a group of groups with one central organization, the groups at least morally dependent upon each other and exchanging workers. All the groups together, and sometimes its separate units, are called *Kibbutz.* There are now two, *Histadruth Meuchad,* formerly *Kibbutz Ein Harod,* and *Kibbutz Artzi* of the *Shomer Hazair.* A group in a *Kibbutz* may either have its own farm or work for others, as the case may be. It may or may not be waiting for permanent settlement. A *Kibbutz* group very often depends upon work for others. These *Kibbutzim* are somewhat like the Agricultural Workers' Productive Societies in Italy except that the latter do not pool their resources or earnings, nor have a joint household except when working away from home.

(c) An *Irgun,* or "Organization," is a group of independent workers who apply for settlement together on J.N.F. land and obligate themselves by the payment in advance of some small part of the cost of settlement. They act as an organized, cooperative group both before and after settlement, which is usually in the form of a *Moshav* (Smallholders' Settlement).

(d) A *Hevrah* is an impermanent *Kvutzah,* usually of recent immigrants, who live together and hire themselves out as day

laborers as a preparation for permanent settlement in a *Kibbutz, Kvutzah* or otherwise.

The twelve *Moshavim* or *Smallholders' Settlements,* with a population of 2,200, differ from the *Kvutzoth* mainly because the principle of private property is recognized and every farmer has his own movable and immovable property; every member disposes of his earnings; and family life is maintained in separate houses. But in the *Moshav,* the cooperative purchase and sale of products, communal activities, mutual aid in case of sickness or death of the head of the family, etc., are compulsory in the sense that the smallholder who does not comply with these conditions is uncomfortable. There is even a tendency in some Smallholders' Settlements towards the pooling and joint development of certain types of land. For instance, grain-farming is found to be more profitable if done by a small group of experts; the same is true of plantation and other work. Many of the farmers in the Smallholders' Settlements are ex-members of *Kvutzoth.* In the last year a few farmers from the Smallholders' Settlements have returned to the folds of the *Kvutzoth.*

### CREDIT COOPERATION

The small trader, artisan and worker or farmer is not the type of clientele ordinarily served by a commercial bank. Recently a few banks in New York have established Industrial Loan Departments for this type of clientele. *Cooperative Credit Societies* or *Credit Unions,* as they are known in the United States, were first organized in the villages of Germany in the middle of the last century. They provide credits on convenient terms for those individuals who are not eligible for credits in commercial banks. The capital of the Credit Unions is made up almost entirely of share capital subscribed by members and the latters' savings.

Whereas agricultural cooperation was practically non-existent among Jews outside of Palestine, credit cooperation has been an integral part of their economic life since the early part of this century. *Volks Banks* or Loan and Saving Societies (*Halvaah Vehisachon,* as the Jewish credit unions are called) are found in practically every town, village or hamlet in which Jews live. Credit Cooperation is simpler and requires less suppression of individuality

than does, say, agricultural cooperation. In the case of the credit cooperatives, a member begins to feel his responsibility only in time of trouble, when he has to contribute (generally not exceeding ten times the amount of his paid or subscribed share capital) towards the deficits incurred. The Jewish aptitude for credit cooperation is reflected in the fifty odd societies in towns and villages, serving every type of population, artisans, small traders, laborers, farmers, and rentiers, most of them established in Palestine since 1925. Their share and reserve capital amounts to about half a million dollars, and deposits and savings to well over two million dollars. While there may be a difference of opinion about the efficacy and desirability of some of the methods of administration and of raising money used by some of the larger credit unions, such as the sale of shares to non-residents and the sale of saving certificates with lottery features within Palestine, yet it is satisfactory to note that these societies are operating almost entirely with their own capital or with deposits from members and non-members.

### WORKERS' PRODUCTIVE SOCIETIES, INCLUDING COLLECTIVE LABOR CONTRACTING GROUPS

Workers thrown out of work by business depression, strikes or lockouts, or desiring to keep the profits from going to *entrepreneurs* or absentee owners, unite into *Workers' Productive Societies,* or Industrial Producers' Cooperative Societies, as they are sometimes known. In most of these cooperatives there is a variable wage scale according to skill, type of work, length of employment, etc. The wage scale generally is not higher than that prevailing in the non-cooperative shops in the same industries. There is no guaranteed employment and the profits in most instances are divided equally among all the members. Of all the types of cooperative effort, the Workers' Productive Societies in all countries, not excepting Palestine, probably have been the least successful because of insufficient financing at the outset caused by the limited means of the organizers; inexperienced or inefficient sales machinery; inability to compete with large scale enterprises or enterprises requiring large capital; inefficient management, generally by one of the members; restricted or closed membership; or their

establishment as a means of creating employment without having first studied needs and possibilities.

The Workers' Productive Societies in Palestine, which are entirely linked up with the Histadruth Haovidim (General Federation of Jewish Labor), as is the case in other countries, have experienced more ups and downs than any other branch of cooperatives. There has been a number of official and unofficial liquidations of both small and large societies, including a large construction cooperative, "*Solel Boneh*," which trained and employed about 2,000 workers and which executed contracts for about two million dollars.

Today there are 46 Industrial Workers' Producers' Societies (exclusive of the temporary and permanent labor contracting groups, the number of which is unknown), having 679 members and employing 41 hired workers. In these 46 societies there is a differentiation between wages according to type of work and skill with no pay during periods of unemployment. Although the maximum wages are fixed, the members actually receive whatever surplus remains after all other expenses have been covered. The largest group, twenty-three societies with 221 members, is directly or indirectly dependent on building trades. The second largest group is composed of nine societies with 263 members (the largest is one in Tel Aviv with 76 members) engaged in motor transportation of all kinds.

An interesting experiment in collective agricultural labor contracting is the *Yachin* Agricultural Contracting Cooperative Association Ltd., which started operations in October, 1926. This cooperative undertakes plantation work of all kinds at a fixed price, generally for absentee owners. Working with a minimum permanent staff, consisting mostly of office help and technical supervisors and foremen, it carries out the work through groups on a contract basis. Deep-ploughing is contracted out to one group; grafting of trees to another, etc., at a fixed price and on the responsibility of the group. These groups are members of the *Yachin* and participate to some extent in the management. At the end of 1930, the *Yachin* was in charge of 2,140 dunams of plantation, which afforded employment to groups having 240 workers. The value of the work carried out during 1930 amounted to about $150,000.

### COOPERATIVE BUILDING, LAND PURCHASE AND SETTLEMENT SOCIETIES, INCLUDING HOUSING COOPERATIVES

There are Cooperative Housing and Cooperative House Building Societies. High rentals, taking a disproportionate amount of earnings and unhealthy housing conditions have led groups of individuals to organize cooperative Housing Societies, such as the Consumers' Cooperatives (Distributive Societies) in Europe, or the State (Vienna Municipality), or the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, or others by the cooperation of private and State effort. The desire to own a house or to build a new community in a suburb has been the driving force in the organization of House Building Cooperatives such as the Starr-Brockett Societies and Community Settlement Societies in England, Wales, and Palestine, and of Building and Loan Associations in the United States.

Only 46 of the 93 registered Cooperative Building and Land Purchasing Societies in Palestine are functioning. These societies, for the most part, have confined their activities to the purchase and amelioration of the land; installation of water systems; construction of roads and necessary community buildings. After that the society is either liquidated or remains dormant.

There is a second group of societies, similar in organization to the Building and Loan Associations in the U.S.A., which helps its members obtain mortgage loans, such as the "*Hatzaphon,*" Irrigation Contracting Society, in Tel Aviv. A third group consists of societies who, having purchased the land, construct commercial centers (shops) such as the Commercial Center in Haifa and Tel Aviv.

A distinctive characteristic of the Cooperative Land Purchase and Building Societies is the large number of non-resident members, for the most part prospective settlers in Palestine.

### CONSUMERS' COOPERATIVES (DISTRIBUTIVE SOCIETIES)

Unemployment, exploitation by the middleman and soaring prices for foodstuffs united the Rochdale weavers in England in establishing their own enterprise for self-employment, and later, their own Distributive or Consumers' Stores. Cash sales and distribution of profits among the members in accordance with the volume of their purchases are the fundamental principles of the

Consumers' or Distributive Cooperative Movement, which is most developed in England and Germany.

Until now the Consumers' Cooperative Movement has not been more successful in Palestine than among the Jews in the Eastern European countries, because Consumers' Cooperation requires a large, stable, urban, wage earning population with a labor philosophy and an appreciation for small savings such as dividends on purchases. In the United States, for instance, Consumers' Cooperation, compared to England and Germany, is in its very early stage because there the working population is more mobile, less labor conscious and less appreciative of or in need of small savings.

The "*Hamashbir Hamerkazi,*" Palestine Cooperative Wholesale Society Ltd., successor to the old "*Mashbir,*" is now seeking to develop a Consumers' Cooperative Movement, primarily in the villages, for both farmers and agricultural laborers. But, unlike most of the Consumers' Stores in other countries, those in Palestine have not adopted the Rochdale principle of cash sales.

Palestine is "a country in the making," populated by groups coming from many different countries and therefore having conflicting social and economic philosophies, where there is a constantly changing economic grouping and where there is a need for large credits for colonization and settlement. Therefore for many years there will not be developed in Palestine a preponderant form of Cooperation such as, for instance, the Consumers' (Distributive) Societies in England, with its highly industrialized system; or cooperation in agriculture as in middle Europe, with its predominance of agricultural population. Therefore, it is too early to speak of a crystallized form of cooperation in Palestine.

# CURRENCY, BANKING AND INSURANCE IN PALESTINE

BY ELIEZER S. HOOFIEN *

## CURRENCY

A nation's currency system has two tasks to perform, namely, to act as a medium for the exchange of goods and to function as a standard of value. The acceptance of a flexible exchange system of trade such as is in use today is predicated upon these two functions. The history of currency in Palestine in recent times has clearly revealed these properties of its money. At the same time it has brought about a striking change in the money habits of the people of the country.

Prior to the British occupation, *Turkish currency* was in use. It consisted principally of metal issue, the Turkish Pound and its various subsidiary issues. Gold, French and English as well as Turkish, was widely used. Paper was not popular. Hoarding was common and resulted in a decline of money in circulation. This, aside from other basic ills, militated against the development of trade, agriculture, industry, etc. During the war Turkish paper money depreciated.

With the British conquest of Palestine, the *Egyptian Pound* was introduced and made legal tender. This issue took the form of notes with subsidiary coins debased to such an extent that only very wide fluctuations in the intrinsic value of the metal itself would result in hoarding. The circulation of the old Turkish paper money was prohibited. Gradually the Turkish coins disappeared and the Egyptian issues became as readily acceptable as the metal. The evils resulting from hoarding under the Turkish monetary system disappeared in large measure as the Egyptian currency came into wider use.

The present *Palestine currency* was introduced on November 1,

* AMERICAN EDITOR'S NOTE: This article has been revised by P. Spinrad to include recent developments in the banking situation in Palestine since this article was originally written.

1927. The unit is the Palestine Pound. It is approximately equal to the Pound Sterling. The currency is managed by a body not in any way dependent on the Palestine Government. This body is called the Palestine Currency Board. It consists of a few high officials and bankers appointed by the British Government and has its seat in London. The Currency Board holds a reasonable liquid reserve and sound Sterling securities against all notes circulating in Palestine. The Board undertakes to provide the holder of Palestinian currency at any time with Sterling currency at par, and in this way links Palestinian currency with Sterling for the time being. It is provided that, if the funds of the currency reserve should become insufficient to meet the demands for the redemption of the notes, the notes would become a direct charge upon the general revenues of the Palestine Government. Lacking a central or reserve bank in Palestine, the Currency Board appointed *Barclays Bank (Dominion, Colonial and Overseas)* as the bank of issue. Since the currency was issued, it has grown almost a million pounds, pointing to a large increase in trade and industry. The Palestine Pound is divided into 1,000 mils. Notes are issued in denominations of LP. 500 to LP. 100. Bronze, nickel-bronze and silver coins ranging in value from 1 mil to 100 mils have also been issued. There is now in circulation almost LP. 2,500,000. There is great confidence in the Palestine currency.

## BANKING

Through the proper use of credit based on such a currency system, it is possible to transfer wealth with great convenience and safety. In an industrial country, it is common to find that bank deposits, which are credit, amount to many times more than the currency on which the credit is based. Sound credit is required in Palestine. Farmers, shopkeepers, manufacturers, persons desiring to build homes, all need credit. The types of credit supplied and the source of supply vary according to the need for it. A farmer, for example, may need a loan for seeds, promising to repay the lender at harvest time, some three or four months later. Perhaps he may also need funds so that he may purchase building material for a barn. Hence, we have one person with two differing credit needs. It is hardly necessary to point out that the cost of a barn would be greater than the sum available therefor

from the proceeds of a harvest, and that, therefore, in the case of the barn loan, the farmer needs another kind of credit than that which he needs to cover the cost of his seeds. Briefly, the farmer's need is for credit of long and short term orders. The same position is true of all others. The trader, the professional man, the small individual borrower, all fall at one time or another into either the long or short term classifications of credit risk.

There are two ways of supplying credit: either on open book accounts such as is common in the United States in industry and trade, or by means of documents of different types, which are found generally associated with bank credit, although differently used in some trades and under special circumstances. In Palestine these are the position of the country, trade customs, banking conditions, etc., where credits are usually of documentary form.

At the time of the British occupation, there were in Palestine one Jewish bank, the *Anglo-Palestine Bank,* and two foreign banks. Credit was also extended by credit cooperatives (credit unions) and private money lenders. Under the influence of Jewish progress, many more banks have come into the field since the War to care for the needs of the growing population, while the original three have expanded greatly. In addition to a large number of commercial banks and cooperative credit institutions in Palestine, there are now mortgage banks, central banks in which the cooperatives join, and other credit agencies such as the *Palestine Economic Corporation* (New York); *Palestine Corporation* (London); and *Jewish Agency for Palestine.*

Insofar as Jewish credit is concerned, the oldest and most important bank is the *Anglo-Palestine Bank,* a subsidiary of the *Jewish Colonial Trust,* of London. The latter was organized nearly thirty years ago as the official bank of the Zionist colonizing institutions. Such it still remains. The *Anglo-Palestine Bank* has a paid-up capital of LP. 300,000 and deposits to an amount of more than LP. 1,500,000. It has its main office at Tel Aviv and branches in Jaffa, Jerusalem, Haifa and a number of the smaller towns. It is also represented in Syria through a branch office at Beirut. This bank acts in large measure as the central financial institution of Jewish Palestine. A very large part of the commercial credit of Jewish commerce and industry is granted by it and, although agricultural credit in some of its forms is left by this bank to

other institutions which specialize in them, it plays an important rôle in this branch of finance.

There are a number of smaller Jewish commercial banks, most of them with local capital, but some of them working with foreign and quite important means. Only the most important of these many banks can be enumerated here. They include the *Workers Bank* (Tel Aviv), which engages in commercial transactions, finances workmen's cooperatives, and is controlled by the *Jewish Federation of Labor;* the *Loan Bank* (Jerusalem and branches), which is now a subsidiary of the *Palestine Economic Corporation* and makes small loans after the manner of so-called "industrial" banks in the United States, at low interest rates to small tradesmen, artisans, members of professions, etc., with funds left in the country by the Joint Distribution Committee; the *Palestine Corporation, Ltd.,* which was organized by the *Economic Board for Palestine* (London) and which is engaged in issuing industrial credit and financing raw material purchases; and *Mizrahi Bank* (Tel Aviv and Jerusalem) and *Palestine Mercantile Bank* (Haifa and Jerusalem), both engaged in commercial banking.

*Barclays Bank* is the most important non-Jewish bank in the country. This bank, with its ramifications in Egypt, South and West Africa and elsewhere, though quite big, is only an offshoot of the still larger Barclays Bank of London, one of the so-called "Big Five." Barclays Bank is the banker to the Government of Palestine and the Agent for the Currency Board and shows signs of developing as the central bank of Palestine. The *Ottoman Bank* and *Banco di Roma* are the two other of the larger banks in the country. The first named has offices and branches in Istanbul, London, Paris and parts of the old Ottoman Empire. The second, an Istaban organization, maintains branches in Palestine, Syria and Turkey. All three of these banks have branches in Jerusalem, Jaffa, Tel Aviv and Haifa. *Barclays Bank* has offices in several smaller towns. Among the smaller non-Jewish banks are that of the German colonists known as the *Bank der Tempelgesellschaft* and one small Arab private venture called the *Arab Bank.*

The business of these aforementioned commercial banks is of the type customary in Europe and the Orient, with the practice substantially following that of the English system. They accept deposits and open check accounts. Interest is paid except when balances are very small. Although a quite well-known instrument

of payment, the check is not so extensively used as in the Anglo-Saxon countries. Commercial or short term credits, extending from three to six months, are granted by these banks by way of discounting of customers' bills or by way of direct advances against the security of customers' bills or against any other security which may be found proper. Interest rates on loans generally range from 7% to 9% (9% is the legal interest rate), and interest on deposits varies in large measure with English money rates. Some of the smaller banks pay higher rates in order to attract deposits. Imports are financed by granting advances for such staple products as timber, and exports of cereals are financed by granting advances on the cereals or on bills of lading. The larger banks make a special feature of the financing of the orange trade through the granting of advances to growers (mainly through the *Central Bank of Cooperative Institutions in Palestine* and the cooperative marketing societies) during the summer season. These loans are paid during the shipping season (November to April) from the proceeds of sales. Further banking facilities such as the opening of credits, transfer of money, purchase and sale of bankers' drafts, etc., are granted by banks in Palestine along customary lines. Banks deposit their cash in London and also lend their cash reserves at call in London.

*Cooperative credit societies* are a highly developed and successful medium in Palestine for meeting the credit needs of a large part of the Jewish population. Most of them have been in existence less than seven years. They have made possible the accumulation of small savings to meet the credit needs of the smaller borrower at a reasonable rate of interest. Their memberships form a cross section of the life of the Jewish community. Information available for 44 of the 52 urban and rural societies functioning in 1930 indicates a membership of about 26,000; share capital and reserves of more than LP. 150,000, an increase of over 56% as compared with 1928; and savings and deposits aggregating almost LP. 500,000 as against LP. 320,000 two years before. In 1932 the fifty credit unions are said to have had capital and reserves of LP. 200,000 and deposits of LP. 700,000, composed largely of smaller balances—an index of the thriftiness of the Jewish population. The three urban and five rural workers' societies had at the end of 1931 about 7,200 members. The rural credit societies also sometimes engage in cooperative purchase of seed, fertilizers, etc. Some

of the large urban societies, called *Halvaah Vehisachon,* confine themselves to the granting of small loans to their members. Others, like *Kupath Am* (Tel Aviv and Jerusalem) and *Ashrai* (Tel Aviv), carry on a general banking business. The *Artisans' Bank* (Tel Aviv), also a cooperative, specializes in small credits to artisans. Some of the societies are quite important and have deposits of LP. 100,000 and more.

In the credit cooperative system the beginnings of the development of banking safeguards may be noted which are not as obvious among the commercial banks. Central credit cooperative institutions which extend loans to the member cooperatives and exercise a degree of control over their operations have been created. The foremost of these is the *Central Bank of Cooperative Institutions in Palestine* (Jerusalem and Tel Aviv), which is controlled by the *Jewish Colonization Association, Palestine Economic Corporation,* and *Economic Board for Palestine.* About 95% of the credits granted by this bank are of a rural character. Some of the larger urban credit cooperatives have hitherto been reluctant to avail themselves of its services, mainly because they did not consider themselves to be in want of them. The *Workers Bank* serves the workmen's cooperatives. Non-labor cooperatives established the *Merkaz, the Central Institution of the Cooperative Societies for Credits and Savings in Palestine,* which had 15 member societies in 1931. Some of the urban credit cooperatives not affiliated with the aforementioned centralizing bodies established the *Zerubabel Bank* in 1932 to serve as their central bank.

The *General Mortgage Bank of Palestine* (Tel Aviv), the *Palestine Mortgage and Credit Bank* (Jerusalem) and the *South African Palestine Binyan Company* (Haifa) grant housing loans on improved urban property. The first named, which is controlled by the *Anglo-Palestine Bank,* issues mortgage credit in Tel Aviv, Jerusalem, Haifa and Tiberias only, whereas the second, which is a subsidiary of the *Palestine Economic Corporation,* finances city and village property and makes a feature of financing small settlers' houses, and also makes long term loans to smaller industrial establishments. The *General Mortgage Bank of Palestine* issues mortgage bonds, 7% sterling debentures and 6½% dollar debentures, based on individual mortgages in its portfolios. There is a large volume of private mortgage money lending on both urban and rural property.

There is no bank specially devoted to agricultural credit. The *Central Bank of Cooperative Institutions in Palestine*, which approximates an agricultural bank most closely, deals with short and intermediate credits only. The various credit cooperatives and the *Palestine Corporation, Ltd.*, have also engaged in agricultural loans. The problem of agricultural long term credit, Jewish and Arab, has not been solved, though it has been much discussed for many years. Long term rural loans for colonization purposes have been financed in various parts of the country by the *Jewish Agency for Palestine* and by the *Palestine Jewish Colonization Association*. The difficulties in the way of establishing a sound agricultural credit system are enormous and obvious. With the daily progress of agriculture and horticulture, both Jewish and Arab, and with the amelioration of legal and cadastral difficulties, they are steadily becoming less formidable, and the day may not be far off when they will no longer be insuperable.

Latterly the term "bank" has sometimes been utilized by small institutions which should not have standing as banks. Sometimes they exist principally for the purpose of issuing lottery bonds. Altogether the number of banks with very limited capital is quite large.

### INSURANCE

There is little to be said of insurance in Palestine. With the exception of the *Judaean Insurance Company* and *Hassneh* (which is the beginning of a popular insurance company controlled by Labor interests), the whole of the insurance business is in the hands of foreign companies: British, German, Austrian, French, Italian, etc. These companies underwrite life, fire, burglary and marine insurance, etc., in the customary manner. Orange grove, storm and riot insurance has been introduced by a combination of three of the largest British insurance companies. There are a few local cooperative cattle insurance societies operating along the usual lines.

# SOCIAL SERVICE

BY HENRIETTA SZOLD

## THE DISORGANIZATION OF SOCIAL SERVICE

The Local Communities, *the Kehilloth* of the Organized Jewish Community of Palestine, are authorized to levy taxes upon their members for Education, Health, Social Service, and the administration of the Rabbinical Council. Of these activities, Social Service was the only one which the organized community of Palestine (*Kenesseth Israel*) at its inauguration found completely unorganized. The others, having been systematized by the Jewish Agency Executive in the course of the years since the Balfour Declaration, are more or less ready to be supervised by the Vaad Leumi and taken over by the Community as soon as the taxing power of the latter is developed.

The organization of a country-wide system of Social Service in Palestine is difficult because of the confusion which has arisen as a result of uncontrolled private initiative in social work. There have sprung up, in the course of several generations, numberless institutions and organizations endeavoring to meet the welfare needs of an immigrant population. They all work independently. There is no centralizing force, not even such as would spring naturally from the activities of an organization dealing with family welfare work. In addition to multiplicity and disparateness, there is another situation, especially in Jerusalem, that must be reckoned with. Not only are there duplications and omissions, but there is also the problem connected with the institutions of the Old *Yishub*, with the Rabbinate, the *Hevrah Kedishah* (Burial Society), the *Shechita* (Ritual Slaughter), and the *Kollelim*.

## THE KOLLELIM

The *Kollelim* have existed for generations. They are the organizations instituted for the benefit of those who came here to "study"

and, in the end, enjoy the privilege of being buried in the sacred soil. The theory, a sort of Jewish monastic theory, is that their devotion to study entitles them to support from the Jews who remain in the countries of the "exile" and there occupy themselves with business and presumably are "at ease" though not "in Zion." Throughout the world, conforming Jews put up little boxes in their homes for the *Kollelim*. Besides, "messengers" are sent from Palestine to empty these boxes and to make additional collections by other means for the *Kollelim* and for their institutions, such as *hospitals, homes for the aged, orphanages, and Yeshiboth.* The *Kollelim* imply a peculiar splitting up of the Palestinian Jewish population according to the countries of origin. The Jews of the Old *Yishub* (not all of them old in years) who come, for example, from Poland, have a claim upon the Polish *Kollel* regardless of their financial condition. Those who come from America, even if they are not poor, have a theoretical claim upon a "share" of the monies of the *Kollel* America. "Share" appears in quotation marks, because the Hebrew word for it, *Haluka,* is the name under which the system of distributing the funds of the *Kollelim* is known. The large sums received by the *Kollelim* in normal times are thus applied, first, to the religious needs of the community, second, to the support of the indigent, especially of students at the *Yeshiboth,* and, third, to the support of philanthropic institutions.

### THE DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL SERVICE OF KENESSETH ISRAEL

The psychology of life in Palestine has been completely changed by the Zionist movement with its modern implications and aims. Its influence is visible in the more recently formed welfare organizations, which approximate in method and purpose what the Western world endorses in the way of social service. Yet, by the side of such, the *Kollelim* persist and flourish as social relief agencies of a sort.

Under such conditions, it is natural that the organizers of the *Kenesseth Israel* were impressed with the need of giving serious attention to the development of an orderly social welfare service. Accordingly, at the First Session of the Third *Assefat Hanivharim* (Elected Assembly), held in February, 1931, the following Resolutions with reference to Social Service were adopted:

"The *Assefat Hanivharim* places on record its view that the present state of social service work in the *Yishub*—lack of adequate social legislation, lack of regulation and co-ordination in social work, lack of communal supervision of the administration of many institutions—renders it incumbent upon *Kenesseth Israel* to establish at an early date an institution for social service, under the *Vaad Leumi*, whose first duties shall be:

(a) to collect the data on social service in the *Yishub* for the establishment of a central information service on social work;
(b) to foster co-operation among the institutions and organizations of the various communities engaged in social work by means of a national council, representing such organizations;
(c) to ensure communal supervision of all Jewish social service activities;
(d) to draw up a working plan
    i. for the participation of *Kenesseth Israel* in the upkeep and development of social service enterprises;
    ii. for the organization of social service by the *Kehilloth;*
(e) to work for the improvement and extension of social legislation."

On the basis of these Resolutions, the Department of Social Service was established.

The Department is thus still in its infancy. It is designed to be an organ of information, guidance, and supervision in the field of Social Service, and is to exercise central control over social welfare activities. It will not itself engage in the actual Social Service work, except in the case of institutions not local in character whose administration is entrusted to it.

The following is the proposed general program of the Department:

Formation of a Central Advisory Council to the Department, consisting of persons from all parts of the country interested and experienced in Social Service work.

Preparation of a Survey of existing social agencies and a card catalogue on the basis of the information secured;

Establishment of a Central Information Bureau which will serve all institutions and individuals, in Palestine and in the Diaspora,

desiring information regarding Social Service undertakings in this country;

Assisting and influencing the establishment of Local Social Service Bureaus.

Co-ordination of agencies active in branches of social service, such as Child Care work, etc.

Adjustment of the various branches of the Social Service to one another.

Elimination and avoidance of duplication of service.

Review of new projects.

Suggestions for the establishment of new social agencies as the need for them appears in the course of regulating the existing agencies.

Influencing the *Kehilloth* on fund collections supplementary to taxation, and the methods of collection to be employed.

Publication of periodical Bulletins.

Establishment of training courses for volunteers.

Establishment of a school for the training of social workers.

Representation of the Jewish Community vis-a-vis the Palestine Government in order to bring about the establishment of a system of public supervision over social agencies operating in the country, and to enter into negotiations with it with a view to securing the adoption of social legislation.

It is obvious that so full a program can be put into operation in all its provisions only in the course of years. At this time of writing (1932) only the first steps have been taken towards its execution.

The plan of work calls for simultaneous development at the centre, in the Department for Social Service, and in the *Kehilloth* by the organization of their Bureaus for Social Service.

The Department has established its two organs, its Central Information Bureau and its Central Advisory Council. The former aims to make available in suitable form to the agencies in the country and to foreign Jewish agencies whatever they desire or need to know about welfare institutions and organizations in the broadest sense. Its services have already been used by inquirers abroad, especially in the United States, whence comes a considerable percentage of the funds on which Palestinian institutions depend for their support. The main connection between the Depart-

ment's Information Bureau and the United States is made through the Bureau for Jewish Social Research of New York. The Committee representing the latter in Jerusalem has granted the Department material and moral help in generous measure, in particular in tying it up with the National Appeals Information Service of the United States.

At the organization of the Advisory Council, groups of interested persons and the committees of certain of the *Kehilloth* were called into consultation to create public opinion, and invited to make suggestions as to the program and personnel of the Advisory Council. A Council of seventeen members was constituted. At its meetings it discusses such problems as that of widows and orphans in Palestine, the methods of the courts in dealing with juvenile offenders, the form in which information on institutions is to be conveyed to inquirers, etc.

In the *Kehilloth* the organization of the Bureaus depends upon the organization of the *Kehillah* itself as a fiscal, tax-imposing body. Haifa is completely organized, Jerusalem and Tel Aviv are in the process of being organized.

The plan of organization adopted by the Department for the Social Service Bureaus of the *Kehilloth* provides for a Social Service Committee; a small Executive Committee, which is to make itself responsible for the conduct of the Bureaus; a Council composed of representatives of existing social service organizations and a specific undertaking of the *Kehillah* Social Service Bureau, viz., family welfare work. It presupposes an office properly equipped and staffed, and a professional Social Service worker.

### FAMILY WELFARE WORK

Family welfare work was chosen as the specific task of the Social Service Bureaus of the *Kehilloth* because, without an organization prepared to deal with the rehabilitation of the needy from the point of view of the family as the unit, no modern social service is possible. Even the institutions functioning in Palestine can best be influenced to modernize their methods if the need is brought home to them through the claims upon their services arising out of family case work, because until now, relief of the destitute in Palestine is still largely a matter of hysteria.

It is obvious that family case work requires a large and well-

assured budget, both for actual relief and for administration. In order that the experiment with the *Kehilloth* may be a success, the methods of collecting funds in each community will have to be strictly supervised and coordinated through the cooperation of the various autonomous social service agencies existing in them, and appeals will have to be made to those who have been extending their help to cases as they arose and were brought to their attention, to make their contributions to a regularly constituted central fund. This is a task of great magnitude and may be accomplished only in the course of time and after mutual confidence among the organizations has been well established by means of cooperation in the work and its coordination.

### THE TRAINED SOCIAL WORKER

In Palestine, where funds for relief are cruelly limited and the need for them is stark, administrative expenditures are not viewed with favor. It is therefore gratifying that the Palestine Endowment Funds, Inc. has assured at least one fundamentally important item of administrative expenditure. They have enabled the Central Department to subsidize a trained social worker for two Local Communities for one year, and a private contribution has secured the same service for a third community. Social workers in the cities will ensure good work in the Local Bureaus and will make the Central Department effective, placing in its hands the opportunity of training the public in appreciating the value of the modern system of administering social service work and appropriating funds therefor.

It is interesting that the work of organizing the Department has met with sympathy on all sides. The country is alive to the need of some such organization as is proposed, and the cooperation of individuals and groups has been freely offered and granted.

# HEALTH ORGANIZATIONS AND HEALTH ACTIVITIES IN PALESTINE

BY DR. I. J. KLIGLER, DEPARTMENT OF HYGIENE, HEBREW UNIVERSITY, JERUSALEM

## HEALTH PROBLEMS

In the small compass of this country one finds a composite of the climates, languages, religions and standards of civilization of the world. On the Coastal Plain the climate is sub-tropical; in the highlands it is mildly temperate; in the Jordan Valley it is tropical. On an automobile trip lasting about two and a half hours, one passes from the sub-tropical region of the coast to the temperate climate of the hills, to the tropical Valley of the Jordan. At the same time one passes from modern Tel Aviv, through semi-mediaeval Jerusalem to Biblical Jericho. Tel Aviv is a purely Jewish city with concrete pavements and houses containing such modern comforts as central water supply, electric lights, and bath, but no sewage system as yet. Jerusalem is a cosmopolitan city; the old part with its 16th century wall, oriental bazaar, stone paved narrow streets, and the new part with its broad thoroughfares and western aspect, present a curiously fascinating meeting ground of the East and West. Jericho is an old Arab city with nothing of the West or of today.

Under these circumstances it is natural that unusual health problems exist and that peculiar difficulties are encountered in solving them. The Jewish people are in a hurry. They are anxious to improve health conditions with the utmost speed in order to facilitate reconstruction and resettlement with a minimum loss of life and health. The Arabs are conservative and suspicious of innovation; to many of them life, disease, and death are still ordained by Allah. They understand medicines and have always used them in one form or another, but preventive medicine is a nuisance and perhaps an invention of the devil. They will take any amount of "Quina," but tamper with their primitive irriga-

tion canal or the natural, tortuous course of an overgrown *wadi* (creek) and there are loud protests. The British official is traditionally conservative and considers first his primary function, the maintenance of a balance. The Government's policy is first to keep order and then to improve conditions in the country as a whole to the extent, and only to the extent, that these activities do not noticeably interfere with the age-old habits and customs of the people.

### MEDICAL AND HEALTH ORGANIZATIONS

As a result of these different aspects, standards and tendencies, three distinct types of medical and health activities have come into being. First, there is the Government Department of Health, British in constitution and organization, and native in execution. Then there is the Hadassah Medical Organization, Jewish in constitution and American in inspiration and organization. Finally, there is a chain of missionary hospitals maintained by various denominations. The first is the official health agency carrying the governmental responsibility for the health activities of the country. The second is a voluntary organization supported by Hadassah, the Women's Zionist Organization of America, whose purpose is to provide curative and preventive services to the Jewish population and to all others who may wish to avail themselves of their benefits. The purpose of the third is to bring physical and spiritual healing by ministering to the sick. The first two are unified organizations, country-wide in their activities and scope, the last consists of a large number of isolated hospitals located in various parts of the country.

### GOVERNMENT HEALTH DEPARTMENT

The Government Health Department is a highly centralized system under the absolute authority of the Director of Health. There is no Health Council or Board of Health. The Director is assisted by a Deputy Director and two Assistant Directors each with distinct functions. The Deputy Director is in charge of all medical activities, such as hospitals, clinics, etc., and the anti-malaria service. One Assistant Director is in charge of the Sanitary and Epidemiological service, his division including a Registrar of Vital Statistics and a Sanitary Engineer. The second Assistant Di-

rector is in charge of the Laboratory service. These officials are all British.

The country is divided into four districts: Jerusalem, Jaffa, Haifa, and Samaria-Galilee. Each district is under the charge of a British Senior Medical Officer who is assisted by a varying number of native staff. The Senior Medical Officer is responsible for all services in his district: hospitals, supervision of public establishments, epidemic, malarial and rural sanitation. He corresponds to an American country medical officer. In the four large cities, Jerusalem, Jaffa, Haifa and Nablus, local medical officers are assigned specific duties such as hospital, public establishments or rural service. In the secondary cities, Nazareth, Tiberias, etc., the same medical officer has charge of the dispensary, the epidemiologic service, the rural work, anti-malaria service, etc. In addition to their work in the town, these medical officers must visit from thirty to forty villages about once a month.

The total staff of the Department consists of eleven British medical officers, sixteen local medical officers in the hospital and medical service, twenty-four medical officers in the sanitary and epidemic service, five matrons and five staff nurses, and an unrecorded number of sanitary inspectors.

The budget of the Department in 1930 was LP. 108,551 of which LP. 76,143 was spent on salaries and the rest for other charges. Of the salary expenditure, about one-sixth is paid to the eleven senior British Officials. In view of the generally backward condition of the country and the complete centralization of the health functions (which means that even the large municipalities provide only garbage collection and plumbing inspection as their contribution to the health services), this budgetary provision is entirely inadequate. Calculated on a per capita basis, the Government provides 100 Mils or less than $.50 *per capita per annum* for hospital and public health purposes. The Health budget constitutes 4.7% of the total Government expenditure.

### HADASSAH MEDICAL ORGANIZATION

The work of the Hadassah Medical Organization is centralized in one body and covers both hospital and preventive services. At the outset the principal purpose of the organization was to establish a chain of hospitals to serve the needs of the community at

large and to provide a good medical and nursing service. It established and still maintains or supports four hospitals, one each in Jerusalem, Tel Aviv, Haifa, and Safed respectively, and a Nurses' Training School in Jerusalem. Gradually, however, it came to fill many of those lacunae for which no provision was made in the preventive services of the Department of Health. It has organized an excellent maternity and child hygiene service in most of the large cities and in a number of the larger villages, covering maternity, infant, and pre-school and school hygiene. Thanks to the generosity of Mr. Nathan Straus of New York, this organization has constructed two model Health Centres, the first in Palestine and the only ones in this part of the world.

The Organization of the Hadassah Medical Organization is also highly centralized. As is the case in the Department of Health, full power rests in the hands of the director. But here the similarity ends. The services of this organization are specialized and the chief of each service is in charge of and fully responsible for the work of the various subordinates throughout the country engaged in that service. The Pediatrist of the Jerusalem Hospital is also in charge of the Infant Hygiene work and has direct supervision of all pediatric work and infant hygiene stations in the country. The school hygiene work in the country is under control of a chief of that service. The Public Health Nurse is in charge of all the public health nursing work. The Ophthalmologist is in charge of the trachoma and eye service throughout the country. Along with centralization of administration there is thus a diversification and specialization in service. Responsibility being placed in the hands of specialists interested in their specialty, it is natural that quality of service is properly emphasized.

The budget of the Hadassah Medical Organization for hospital and preventive activities totaled in 1930 LP. 109,961. Of this sum about LP. 70,000 were spent on hospitals and LP. 40,000 on preventive and rural medical services. This Organization spent, therefore, more than the Government Department of Health, and much of the improvement in the health conditions of the country could only have been achieved thanks to this extensive service supplementing that of the Department of Health.

The Hadassah Medical Organization maintained in 1930 a staff of forty-four physicians, one hundred twenty-seven nurses, forty-one public health nurses and more than two hundred lay and

technical staff. Of the total expenditure, LP. 77,398 was spent on personal salaries and LP. 32,563 on other charges.

### SICK BENEFIT SOCIETY—KUPAT HOLIM

This organization constitutes an important part of the Jewish health activity. It is a voluntary health insurance society organized by the Jewish Workers' Organization. The society counts approximately 18,000 members, who with their families constitute 30,000 souls. Its annual budget of about LP. 55,000 is covered chiefly by membership dues; in addition, it receives contributions from employers, the Jewish Agency and the Hadassah Medical Organization. The distribution of income in 1930, in percentages, was approximately as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Members' and Workers' Co-operatives | 48% |
| Agency and Hadassah | 33 |
| Employers | 11 |
| Patients' Fees | 6 |
| Sundry Donations | 2 |
| | 100% |

The organization is managed on a cooperative basis. It maintains its own out-patient departments in the five principal cities, provides physicians and nurses to its rural members in fifty-three rural centers, runs a central hospital of fifty to sixty beds in the *Emek* near Afula, and two convalescent homes. It employs seventy-three physicians, forty-nine nurses, and nine pharmacists. In the absence of a compulsory insurance law, the growth and strength of this organization is a tribute to the organizing powers of the Jewish Workers' Organization.

### VAAD HABRIUT

The Health Council is a central advisory and supervisory body constituted by the Jewish Agency to regulate and correlate the work of the Jewish Health Agencies, principally Hadassah and the Sick Benefit Society. This body consists of seven representative members. Its function is to advise on medical policy and on coordination of the work, to maintain contact with the Govern-

## TABLE I

### GENERAL AND INFANT MORTALITY 1924-1930

| Year | Estimated Mid-Year Population* | Death Rate per 1,000 Population | | | | Infant Mortality per 1,000 Births | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Total | Moslem | Jewish | Christ. | Total | Moslem | Jewish | Christ. |
| 1924 ..... | 681,245 | 25.0 | 29.9 | 12.6 | 16.8 | 184.8 | 199.0 | 105.7 | 151.9 |
| 1925 ..... | 719,508 | 27.2 | 31.2 | 15.1 | 18.8 | 188.6 | 200.5 | 131.3 | 162.4 |
| 1926 ..... | 761,896 | 24.4 | 28.6 | 12.1 | 17.9 | 163.0 | 172.5 | 108.1 | 158.0 |
| 1927 ..... | 778,369 | 28.0 | 33.0 | 13.4 | 20.1 | 200.5 | 216.7 | 115.3 | 187.0 |
| 1928 ..... | 794,526 | 29.0 | 35.1 | 12.1 | 18.9 | 186.3 | 203.5 | 95.8 | 157.9 |
| 1929 ..... | 816,060 | 26.5 | 31.7 | 11.8 | 17.9 | 186.5 | 204.9 | 89.8 | 155.8 |
| 1930 ..... | 843,132 | 23.1 | 27.9 | 9.6 | 19.2 | 154.3 | 169.6 | 69.0 | 134.4 |

* The population figures are as officially estimated. The recent census has shown that the Moslem population has been underestimated in the 1922 census, but a correction will not affect the trend of general mortality as shown in the table and will naturally have no influence on the infant mortality rates, which are calculated on the basis of recorded births.

ment Department of Health, and, finally, to analyze and advise on budgets.

### VITAL STATISTICS

The general and, more particularly, the infant mortality of a country has come to be regarded as an index of the country's health and of the application by the health authorities of the modern principles of public health practice. From both these standpoints the data shown in the table on opposite page are extremely instructive.

It is apparent from the data in Table I that until 1930 there had been no appreciable change either in the general death rate or in the total infant mortality rate. The only noticeable improvement is seen in the data for the Jewish population. Thus, while the total death rate and the infant mortality of the Moslem and Christian populations have remained stationary, those of the Jewish population have shown a steady downward trend, reaching an unusually low point in 1930. The year 1930 was in all probability an exceptional one due to the absence of measles and malaria epidemics.

TABLE II

JEWISH AND CHRISTIAN BIRTH RATES (BIRTHS PER 1,000 POPULATION)

| Year | Jewish | Christian |
|---|---|---|
| 1926 | 36.0 | 40.0 |
| 1927 | 35.1 | 38.9 |
| 1928 | 35.4 | 40.4 |
| 1929 | 34.1 | 37.8 |
| 1930 | 33.4 | 39.0 |

The conclusions drawn from these data are obvious. It is apparent that the program of the Health Department has not been directed effectively towards safeguarding the lives and health of the population. It is equally clear that the activities of the Jewish medical bodies have given an abundant harvest of lives saved. It is indeed an achievement that in a sub-tropical country, under sanitary conditions favoring high infant mortality, it has been possible to reduce the infant mortality to sixty-nine per 1,000 births. This is particularly noteworthy in view of the relatively high birth

rate, only slightly below that of the Christian population of Palestine, and considerably above the prevailing birth rates in western communities with an equally low infant mortality.

A comparison of the Christian and Jewish birth rates in Palestine is given in Table II (see page 269).

### SANITARY SERVICES

Good water supply and proper disposal of human waste constitute primary needs of organized communities. In this respect Palestine is still in the transition stage, that is, in the stage in which many of our American cities were thirty or forty years ago. Most of the cities of Palestine are still without a proper or adequate water supply, and none has a complete sewage system. Jerusalem, the capital, with 90,000 population, still suffers periodically from water shortage, only some sections of the town have sewer mains, and the untreated effluent still runs down an open creek in the Kidron Valley as it always did.

### WATER SUPPLY

Only a few cities in Palestine have a satisfactory central water supply. In Jerusalem there is a central supply distributed to the houses from the main sources, the Ein Arrub and Ein Farah springs to the south and east of the city respectively. But these supplies are inadequate for the rapidly growing population, the average supply, exclusive of cisterns, being about 4 gallons per person, an absurdly inadequate amount. In Jaffa only part of the city has a central supply, the rest still depending on shallow, often badly polluted wells. In Tel Aviv there is a satisfactory supply provided from five deep borings pumped to service reservoirs for distribution to the entire city. In Haifa there is a central water supply only in the Hadar HaCarmel Quarter of the town which has about 5,000 inhabitants. This supply is obtained from two deep borings giving about 6,000 gallons per hour. The rest of the city, of over 40,000 people, still depends on wells, whose water is usually very hard and often brackish. Tiberias now has a good chlorinated water supply from Lake Tiberias.

In contrast with this unsatisfactory condition prevailing in the cities is the water supply in the rural Jewish settlements. In

practically every settlement without exception there is a piped supply either from a deep bored well or from closed springs. These waters are pumped to reservoirs and distributed by gravity.

### SEWAGE DISPOSAL

As stated above, sewage disposal is non-existent. In Jerusalem some sections of the town are provided with sewers, but there is no disposal plant, and were there one, it would be useless because the sewage is far too concentrated for treatment. In Jaffa there is, in one small section of the town, a storm water drain, emptying into the sea, which serves also as a sewer, but the leaching cesspit is still the prevailing form of disposal. The same condition prevails in Tel Aviv. In Haifa a sewage system exists only in a few sections, the discharge emptying into the sea; the rest of the city is still using the cesspit or septic tank. In the other cities cesspits, percolating pits, or the still more primitive drypit still prevail.

### CONTROL OF THE FOOD SUPPLY

In this respect, too, the urban communities of Palestine are still in the pioneer, primitive state. The collection and distribution of food is still unorganized. There are large dealers in vegetables and provisions, but every morning Arab peasant women still come to market with their baskets of vegetables and eggs, squat on the pavement, and cater directly to the customer. To a considerable extent this also holds true with regard to milk. There are some organized distributors of cow's milk, the principal one being the Producers' Cooperative *T'nuva,* who also operate the model pasteurization plant in the Hadassah Straus Health Center producing under the control of the Health Center Administration a grade A, bacteriologically controlled, pasteurized milk. But in addition there are numerous small venders distributing their daily supply of cow's or goat's milk direct to the consumer. One may still see goats brought to the house and milked into the consumers' container.

Obviously the control of so varied a supply is no easy matter. The Health Department has instituted a system of licensing for stores, shops, restaurants, etc., but this does not as yet reach the small farmer who peddles his own products. Hence the only safeguard is to treat all food with suspicion and eat only cooked food, boiled milk, and sterilized or cooked vegetables.

### HOSPITAL SERVICES

Hospital service has an important bearing on the health of the community. Adequate provision of hospital facilities, particularly for infectious and communicable diseases, makes possible a better control of these diseases. In Palestine most of the hospital care is provided by voluntary agencies.

TABLE III

DISTRIBUTION OF GENERAL AND INFECTIOUS HOSPITAL BEDS IN VARIOUS PARTS OF THE COUNTRY

| | No. of Hospitals | Total Beds | General | Isolation | Occupancy Total | Occupancy Percent |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Jerusalem* | | | | | | |
| Government | 1 | 103 | 92 | 11 | 60.6 | |
| Jewish | 5 | 307 | 295 | 12 | 276.7 | |
| Non-Jewish | 4 | 340 | 340 | 0 | 152.6 | |
| *Bethlehem* | | | | | | |
| Non-Jewish | 1 | 70 | 70 | 0 | 25.6 | |
| *Hebron* | | | | | | |
| Non-Jewish | 1 | 32 | 32 | 0 | 13.6 | |
| *Jaffa* | | | | | | |
| Government | 1 | 73 | 48 | 25 | 33.9 | |
| Jewish | 1 | 125 | 125 | 0 | 130.1 | |
| Non-Jewish | 3 | 164 | 164 | 0 | 63.6 | |
| *Beersheba* | | | | | | |
| Government | 1 | 8 | 8 | 0 | 7.6 | |
| *Gaza* | | | | | | |
| Government | 1 | 33 | 24 | 9 | 15.9 | |
| Non-Jewish | 1 | 63 | 63 | 0 | 22.9 | |
| *Haifa* | | | | | | |
| Government | 1 | 70 | 30 | 40 | 38.0 | |
| Jewish | 1 | 55 | 55 | 0 | 51.5 | |
| Non-Jewish | 2 | 60 | 60 | 0 | 41.2 | |
| *Acre* | | | | | | |
| Government | 1 | 29 | 24 | 5 | 15.5 | |
| *Nazareth* | | | | | | |
| Non-Jewish | 2 | 116 | 116 | 0 | 54.1 | |

TABLE III—*Continued*

| | No. of Hospitals | Total Beds | General | Isolation | Occupancy Total | Occupancy Percent |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Nablus* | | | | | | |
| Government | 1 | 56 | 52 | 4 | 41.0 | |
| Non-Jewish | 1 | 45 | 45 | 0 | 21.7 | |
| *Tiberias* | | | | | | |
| Non-Jewish | 1 | 60 | 60 | 0 | 51.1 | |
| *Safad* | | | | | | |
| Jewish | 1 | 53 | 54 | 0 | 47.4 | |
| *Afuleh* | | | | | | |
| Jewish | 1 | 64 | 64 | 0 | 52.3 | |
| Total Government | 7 | 372 | 278 | 94 | 212.5 | 57.1 |
| Jewish | 9 | 604 | 593 | 12 | 558.0 | 92.4 |
| Non-Jewish | 16 | 950 | 950 | 0 | 446.4 | 47.0 |

The accompanying Table III shows the number of hospitals and the bed strength in the Government and non-Government bodies. The total bed strength is 1,926 or about two per thousand inhabitants. Of this the Government's provision of general and infectious disease beds is less than 20%. More noteworthy is the fact that in a country like Palestine the total bed strength for contagious diseases is 106 or one bed per 10,000 population.

Attention should also be called in passing to the occupancy percentage of the various types of hospitals. This is significant in view of the charges occasionally voiced regarding the relatively higher cost of the Jewish hospitals.

### MENTAL HOSPITALS

There are two mental hospitals, one with a capacity of sixty beds, maintained by the Government, and the other with a capacity of eighty beds, maintained by a voluntary local Jewish organization. Both are overfilled, and there is a long list awaiting admission. The Government had planned the construction of a large institution adequate to meet the needs of the country, but these plans have been suspended in view of the economic depression.

### PREVENTIVE SERVICES—MATERNITY AND CHILD WELFARE

The first infant welfare stations were established by Hadassah in 1922. Since then this Organization has established and now maintains twenty-two centers. In 1930, 3,769 prospective mothers and 8,572 infants were in active attendance at these stations. Since the total Jewish births was 5,434, it appears that about 70% of the potential mothers attend these stations.

The Health Department activities in this direction are very limited. No pre-natal care is offered. Its infant welfare service was started in 1925 and consists at present of eleven stations maintained by the Government and three by municipalities. All these stations are located in the cities and serve only the Arab population. In 1930, 5,266 infants were registered in these stations.

Other voluntary organizations maintain six stations, three non-Jewish and three Jewish. In 1930 these stations registered 3,539 infants.

In general the Health Department has not manifested a progressive attitude with regard to these important preventive services. It has given only inadequate attention to the needs of the Arab population and none at all to those of the Jewish population. The shortsightedness of this policy is apparent in view of the high infant mortality and mortality in children under five years of age. To quote Dr. M. Rosenau: "The Government must sooner or later realize that voluntary agencies cannot be expected indefinitely to carry on preventive work, which is a public health obligation of the community and state. The Department of Health . . . can very well afford to devote money to the saving of maternal and infant lives."

### SCHOOL HYGIENE

In Palestine there are three types of schools: the Government Schools for the Arab population, the official Jewish School System, and Mission and other schools. In 1930 there were 310 Government Schools with 22,956 pupils and 760 teachers, and 566 non-Government Schools with 51,504 pupils and 2,709 teachers. At present the Health Department service is practically limited to Government Schools; the other, and among them the Jewish Agency Schools,* are dependent on voluntary service.

* Government school hygiene service is extended to a few Jewish schools not connected with the Agency. (Ed.)

The School Hygiene Service provided by the Health Department corresponds to that in other countries. There is periodic examination of school children, inspection of schools, instruction in hygiene to teachers, and control of infectious diseases. Special attention is given to treatment of eyes, a very important matter in view of the prevalence of trachoma and epidemic conjunctivitis. In 1930, 11,058 children were examined, 5,918 in cities and 5,140 in villages. Of these 5,901, over 50%, had trachoma and 513 other eye diseases. More than two million eye treatments were given.

None of this service is provided to Jewish schools and the lack is filled by the Hadassah Medical Organization. In 1930 the Hadassah School Hygiene Service cared for 25,000 school children. This service has been particularly effective in completely freeing the children of scabies, in reducing the trachoma incidence to 10%, and in the organization of groups of children into health scouts.

### GENERAL SICK BENEFIT SOCIETY (KUPAT HOLIM AMAMIT)

The General Sick Benefit Fund was organized in 1932 with the aid of the Hadassah Medical Organization, as part of the general plan proposed by the Health Secretariat (*Vaad Habriut*) for the reorganization of the health service. This Sick Benefit Society supplements that of the Labor Organization in that it operates in the older rural settlements and is intended to include also the artisan and small merchant of the lower middle class in the urban communities. Is is thus an important step forward in extending the cooperative health service and in placing it on a self sustaining basis.

That the people were ripe for this new development was indicated by the success achieved during the first year. The organization now includes 35 settlements in various parts of the country, having a total population of 12,000. The budget for the first year was LP. 6,300, of which the PICA contributed LP. 1,069 and the HMO, LP. 840, the balance (70%) being contributed by the members.

The organization employs 25 physicians and 7 nurses. The central administrative staff is contributed partly by the HMO and partly by the Farmers' Organization (*Histadruth Haikarim*). With careful management and sound organization, the new cooperative

should in the near future equal in size and strength that of the workers' organization, the two together providing a complete system of medical service for the whole Jewish rural population in Palestine.

# HADASSAH AND OTHER WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS

BY HORTENSE LEVY

The present movement for the rebuilding of a National Home in Palestine crystallized at a time when other changes were taking place in the world and its course reflected their development. One of these changes notably concerned the activities of women. Previously they had rarely combined into definitely organized groups, but following this trend in other fields, Jewish women began to organize for Jewish work. At the time when Herzl was giving direction to the modern Zionist movement, a few small and loosely constructed groups came into existence with Palestine as the avowed object of their work. In the course of time some of these vanished; others were absorbed in the larger bodies which developed in keeping with general Zionist work; some few still exist in one form or another.

One such group was formed in Vienna during Herzl's lifetime and was called simply a Society of Zionist Women. Later a German group was formed whose impressive title did credit to the important part they played later. "Verband Jüdischer Frauen für Kultursarbeit in Palästina," or as it was more familiarly called, the "Kultursverband," drew into its ranks many able leaders and a large membership, and although in 1929 it joined the Women's International Zionist Organization (W.I.Z.O.) it retained much of its individuality and is still recognizable in the general association. In Switzerland it is functioning independently, having only a loose working agreement with the international body.

Innumerable other small groups grew up in Europe during these years, especially in Poland. Their course was marked out for them inevitably by the general status of women in their localities. By now, the tendency to affiliate with larger bodies has affected these groups, with W.I.Z.O. becoming the dominant organization in Europe, while the Poale Zion and Hechalutz are important in Eastern Europe.

### HADASSAH, THE WOMEN'S ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA

Various causes, such as language and organization problems, led the American women to develop their most important association apart from European affiliations. Hadassah, the Women's Zionist Organization of America, as it is now called, originated in a very small group known as the Daughters of Zion who as early as 1904 met regularly in the vestry rooms of the Temple Emanu-El, in New York, for study purposes. Beyond this, they had no clear aim. As a result, they tended to disintegrate and had actually disbanded when the first Palestinian problem of particular interest to women was called to their attention by Miss Henrietta Szold who had long been associated with them. In 1912 she returned from her first trip to Palestine impressed with the desperate need for health work among the Jews there. Thirty-five women came to a meeting which she called. With the help of Miss Eva Leon, who had already organized a maternity service in Jerusalem, the problem was laid before them, with emphasis upon the special needs of women and children. As a result, a new society was formed and at its first open meeting, Miss Szold was elected president and the name Hadassah Chapter of the Daughters of Zion was selected. Hadassah means myrtle and is the Hebrew name of Queen Esther and because the first meeting was held at Purim, the name seemed particularly appropriate. Also, a small group of Zionist women who had previously used it now became integrated into the new organization.

Henrietta Szold proved her genius for organization from the beginning. Combining a worldwide outlook with an extraordinary capacity for detail, she directed the growth of the Daughters of Zion toward national lines based upon a comprehensive philosophy. The system of organization in America gave it the necessary flexibility, so that the growth of the Palestinian program was immediately reflected in expansion at home. The fundamental theory was that an organization is strengthened by having a concrete and definite project in hand and especially that women work with greater energy toward a clearly defined goal. This basic motivation has never been abandoned, although when the organization had become powerful, it was frequently subjected to pressure, either to divert its energies to other ends or to work for aims less clearly defined. In line with this general philosophy, Hadassah early at-

tached itself to the World Organization, subjecting itself to discipline as indicated by the submission of its budget to the Zionist Congress, paying the Shekel tax and sending duly accredited delegates to the Congresses.

It also early in its history accepted a definite attitude toward its work in Palestine. In simple terms this expressed itself by accepting a place on the so-called Foundation Program, the plan laid down by the World Organization for practical colonizing and allied activities. Hadassah accepted health work, thus relieving the the Keren Hayesod of that responsibility and freeing it for other work. This health work became its specific project, directed from the beginning into its present lines. The fundamental principles were: 1—the development of a health service which could be turned over to the *Yishub* whenever the time came that they could care for it themselves; 2—that it should be built, as far as possible, upon the most modern theories of socialized medicine which it was believed were in greater accord with the type of life to be developed in Palestine than the system usually prevailing in American and European centers. The first of these principles has been carried out as far as the first steps are concerned. In February 1931, the so-called Devolutionary Program was inaugurated by turning over to Tel Aviv an initial control of its hospital. This process has continued and in October 1931, the Haifa Hospital was transferred to the Haifa Jewish Community. In the rural districts, a Sick Benefit Fund is accomplishing the same result.

In regard to the second principle, that of socializing the medical service, much of what had been accomplished was lost because of the world depression which began affecting the health work about 1930. In spite of this, plans are being discussed for the establishment of an insurance for discharge compensation or for death.

From the beginning, Hadassah directed itself to service. The demand for this grew so rapidly and to such proportions that it consumed whatever funds were raised. Gradually the need for adequate buildings to house Hadassah's activities made itself felt and the problem of erecting hospitals and clinics finally became imperative. In 1933 plans were drawn up for a new hospital building in Haifa, in the construction of which the Jewish community will participate; plans for the Norvin Lindheim Clinic in Tiberias were drawn up and accepted, and discussions held with the Amer-

ican Jewish Physicians' Committee regarding a new building for the Rothschild Hospital which, it is proposed, will ultimately become the Hadassah-Hebrew University Hospital when the School for Tropical Medicine shall be established.

Hadassah also took as one of its responsibilities the cementing of friendship between the races in Palestine. Its services are open to all creeds and nationalities. The Guggenheimer playgrounds, under Hadassah's supervision, encourage sports between Jewish and Arab children.

One other principle Hadassah has accepted and worked by. That is, to encourage the development in Palestine of Palestinian organizations free from Diaspora influence and point of view. Hadassah has maintained that Palestine should be the ground in which the future liberated Jewish spirit might grow. This ideology led to the formation of one important Palestine women's organization, the Histadruth Nashim Ivriot, which was formed with Hadassah's help and whose executive secretary was subsidized by Hadassah. This feeling about Palestine organizations was another expression of the first principle accepted by it, that of creating activities which should pass into Palestinian Jewish control as quickly as the *Yishub* was able to accept them.

The development of Hadassah upon these principles followed two lines, that of organization in America and expansion in Palestine.

### AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

*Budget.*—Although the *Yishub* is contributing a gradually increasing share of the funds necessary to support the Hadassah medical work, yet the major portion is collected in America through the direct efforts of the organization. The budget is prepared in Palestine by the Director, in consultation with the Vaad Habriut, and is sent to America for study and criticism. In its final form, it is presented to the Annual Convention of Hadassah and there receives its official sanction. That part which is used for the Hadassah Medical Organization (H.M.O.) and the Health Centers, is also submitted to the World Zionist Congress and the Jewish Agency for Palestine. Various subsidiary activities being extra-budgetary are therefore not subject to the authority of the World Zionist Organization.

*Form of Organization.*—For the purpose of its American work, Hadassah is a national organization with Chapters in various cities. These are grouped, according to geographic convenience, into sixteen Regions whose plan follows that of the National body in having in addition to the usual officers, Chairmen for all national committees. The Regions hold annual or semi-annual Regional Conferences, which parallel the annual National Conventions. The National Board is the directing body and consists of twenty-seven members, the majority of whom must reside in or near New York in order that they may participate in the semi-monthly meetings. The other members are selected from different sections of the country, whose representation is increased by the ex-officio membership on the Board of all Regional Presidents. There is a small Executive Committee within the Board, meeting once a week or oftener, and carrying their recommendations to the Board for action. Chairmen of National Committees not already members of the Board have the privilege of attending its meetings. These Committees are:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Organization | Membership | Palestine |
| Fund Raising | Education | Infant Welfare |
| Finance | Senior-Junior Relations | School Luncheons |
| Speakers | Zionist Information | Palestine Supplies |
| Publicity | Jewish National Fund | |

All members of these committees, as well as the Board and its officers, are volunteer workers.

*First Program.*—In 1912, at the beginning of its career, the Daughters of Zion accepted a program which then seemed remote of fulfilment. They would provide a nurse, trained in America, for maternity service in Jerusalem. Since there were only 193 members whose dues amounted to $542, this seemed ambitious. But in January 1913, the work was given an unexpected impetus by Mr. Nathan Straus. He called on Miss Szold to tell her that he and his wife were planning a trip to Palestine and that if Hadassah could raise the funds to maintain a nurse there, he would provide her travelling expenses and himself pay for a second nurse.

Efforts to raise the funds were begun at once by the various Chapters and by the private solicitations of Miss Eva Leon. When Mr. and Mrs. Straus sailed, Miss Leon accompanied them, as well as

the two nurses. These were Rose Kaplan of New York and Eva Landy of Cleveland.

*Palestine Supplies Bureau.*—Work among the women and children was commenced immediately upon their arrival and soon rose to staggering proportions. The two nurses worked day and night in an effort to care for all who needed them. Soon a request was received from them for simple layettes for infants. In response to this call, several sewing circles were formed to make garments for the babies. When, with the growth of the Palestinian activities, increased demands were made, these circles were brought together into the Palestine Supplies Bureau, with the duty of providing hospital linens of all sorts, as well as ordinary garments for patients, and during the war, for refugees. In time it became one of the largest departments of Hadassah, having its separate office and clerk, as well as equipment for cutting hospital garments and for packing the huge cases which it sends regularly to Palestine. Until 1933, the list of goods shipped included blankets, towels and hospital nightgowns, as well as new garments of all types, technical instruments which are bought by or given to Hadassah, toys for children and medical educational materials. Since 1933, the Bureau handles supplies for the Hadassah system and for certain institutions only.

*The War and Its Demands.*—But a greater need than that for infant layettes gave the first powerful impulse to the American Women Zionists. It was the war. The two nurses were forced to leave Palestine. Before leaving, they managed to arrange for the continuation of their work while Hadassah undertook to send money and supplies as regularly as possible. In 1917, a request came from the director of the Refugee Camp in Alexandria, Egypt, for a Jewish trained nurse. The need was imperative. He had heard of the Hadassah nurses from some refugees. Miss Kaplan, in spite of serious ill health, pleaded to be sent, and paid with her life for the arduous months of devotion she gave to her task.

Meantime the number of Jewish doctors in Palestine had diminished while the need for them increased. In 1917, the Inner Actions Committee of the World Zionist Organization appealed to America to send doctors, nurses and drugs to Palestine. Hadassah was asked to undertake the work and it began organizing this medical unit at once.

*American Zionist Medical Unit.*—The first step toward meeting this request was to get permission for the Unit to go, should it be formed. This permission had to be given both by the Allies and by Turkey. Inconceivable delays followed. Meantime the work of forming the Unit went forward and from a simple plan, it grew until when finally ready, it was elaborate and complete. Forty-four physicians, dentists, sanitarians, nurses and administrators formed the staff. They had ambulances, trucks and automobiles, as well as a supply of drugs and instruments which alone cost $50,000. Transportation and maintenance for one year was estimated at $250,000. Part of this sum was given by the Joint Distribution Committee, but a very large amount was raised by the Chapters, now rapidly expanding into a national association.

*New Departments.*—This American expansion followed logically the demands made upon the organization. After the war, when regular medical service had been established in hospitals and clinics, it was gradually found necessary to add departments for preventive work. As each of these developed, committees having national scope were appointed to take charge, to prepare educational material concerning their special fields and to raise the necessary funds. Thus, in 1921, an Infant Welfare Station was opened in Palestine. Its phenomenal success led to immediate expansion and the committee in America prepared to finance this work. For this purpose, little white cotton bags were distributed to all members of Hadassah with the request that they drop into it a penny for every glass of milk their children drank. The pennies mounted into dollars, special functions were added to the regular programs and Infant Welfare Committees became part of every Chapter's system of organization.

In 1923 another branch of preventive work was taken up when School Luncheons were inaugurated. A plan similar to that of the Infant Welfare Committee was followed. Chapters added this to their responsibilities. Budget quotas were assigned and a special fund-raising method applied, this being an appeal to the Sunday School children.

*Other Activities.*—About this time, Mr. and Mrs. Nathan Straus came to Hadassah with another gift, that of the Health Centers. A Palestine committee worked with an American one on the plans for the buildings and the program for their activities. They were incorporated into the H.M.O. system and financed

through the central fund. Hadassah also administers several playgrounds, the funds for which came from a bequest of Mrs. Bertha Guggenheimer of Lynchburg, Va., and which is administered in America.

*Jewish National Fund.*—In addition to these specific projects which form a part of the Foundation Program, Hadassah felt the desire to participate in the general work of upbuilding the Homeland. As land purchase is a fundamental thing, collections were made for the Jewish National Fund. After Junior Hadassah had developed, it joined the Senior organization in the redemption of a large tract around Haifa Bay. The eventual cost of this land will be approximately $825,000 toward which Hadassah had in 1933 already contributed $300,000. It is also planting a grove of 10,000 trees at Kiryat Anavim, a colony near Jerusalem.

*Educational Work.*—From its inception, Hadassah felt that a definite part of its American work consisted in spreading an interest in all Jewish matters, especially those relating to Zionism and Palestine. To this end, an Education Committee was formed which directed study circles in the Chapters, prepared programs for all types of meetings, and assembled or produced material for them. The original editions of the "Guide to Zionism" were the work of this Committee. Current topics were issued for many years. Plays, readings and lectures were prepared. The work of the Speakers Bureau was aided and the message of Hadassah spread among a large section of American Jewish women. In connection with this work the Publicity Committee issues a journal called the Hadassah News Letter, while Chapter Instructions are sent regularly to the officers of all Chapters.

*Relations with Other Organizations.*—When the Zionist Organization of America reorganized under the District Plan in 1918, its constitution provided for a Committee on Women's Activities to function instead of the Central Committee of Hadassah, as the directing body was then called. This new committee assumed responsibility for the Medical Unit among its other activities and Hadassah as such was apparently merged into the Zionist Organization. Actually Hadassah maintained its identity; the Chapters functioned as before; new ones were formed and membership increased. In 1921 when a rift in the Z.O.A. threatened to engulf Hadassah, a special Convention was called in Pittsburgh where a new constitution was adopted making it an autonomous body

within the Z.O.A. The first president of Hadassah under its present form was Miss Alice L. Seligsberg who had accompanied the Medical Unit and worked with them in Palestine.

In addition to its relations with the Z.O.A., Hadassah acts in conjunction with the American Jewish Physicians' Committee on the Joint Building Fund Committee for the building of the Hebrew University Hospital and Medical School. It is affiliated with the American Jewish Committee and the American Jewish Congress. Hadassah also established the Public Health and Medical Reference Board, composed of experts in medicine, hospital direction and public health work, who advise with the National Board and its Palestine Committee upon various technical matters which come up in connection with the actual work.

*Work in Palestine.*—Although a number of Jewish hospitals, of which the largest were Bikur Holim, Misgal Ladach and Shaare Zedek, were already established in Palestine when Miss Szold first visited there, the service was entirely inadequate and without provision for maternity cases. The "Jews' Hospital," an English missionary institution, undertook this work, demanding the baptism of the infant as the price of their service. Naturally, few Jewish women went there and the percentage of deaths in childbirth was appalling.

The two nurses sent out as Hadassah's first attempt at health work, limited their activities to Jerusalem. They organized and directed the work of midwives, themselves nursing the most difficult cases, while the organization entered into contracts with some Palestinian physicians with whom the nurses worked. School inspection was then undertaken with a view to combating trachoma, the dreaded eye disease, and at the same time, the many skin affections which were prevalent among the children.

Meantime, the nurses rented a simple house, placed a sign over the door, "Hadassah Chapter, Daughters of Zion," and invited those in need of advice and help to come in without charge. But the friendly advances of the American nurses, with their insistence on cleanliness and order, were viewed with suspicion. Only gradually did the women who lived in the filthy, miserable "Tin Quarter" of Jerusalem, lose their fear and accept the help. But in time, results spoke for themselves and Hadassah came to signify a "nurse" to all Jews in Jerusalem. Then came the war and the departure of the nurses. The task of keeping together what little

had been accomplished was put into the hands of Dr. Helena Kagen. As she was a German citizen, she was able to remain. In the name of Hadassah, she provided clinical aid and when communications were interrupted, she provided the funds out of her own pocket until such time as she could be repaid.

Following the publication of the Balfour Declaration, the American Zionist Medical Unit arrived and established headquarters in Jerusalem and Jaffa. Shortly after, its field of activity was extended to Tiberias, Safed and Haifa, and hospitals and dispensaries were established, staffed by Jews but open to all creeds and nationalities. To their regular work was added an anti-malaria campaign, water inspection and medical supervision of the schools. A nurse was again detailed for work in the Egyptian refugee camp.

In Jerusalem, the Unit took up its work in a building owned by Baron de Rothschild, who loaned it, rent free, to the Unit. Although already old, it was fairly large and after it was equipped, it became known as the Rothschild Hospital. A Nurses' Training School was opened at once and this was the first step toward the goal which the American women had set for this project. The entire staff had been impressed with the idea that theirs was not merely a palliative work, but must become the basis of something permanent. When the time came for them to leave Palestine, they must turn over to that country a medical service capable of continuing. In training native Jewish girls as nurses, they were not only supplying aids for the moment, but were educating the entire community to the importance of sanitation and to a modern attitude toward women's work.

In spite of the difficulties, instruction was in Hebrew. There were no textbooks in that language nor could many of the doctors speak it. But through the persistent efforts of the girls, the school developed upon the lines laid down for it. Lectures were written in English, German or Russian; these were translated by the girls; interpreters were used in the classes and gradually the doctors mastered Hebrew.

At the same time, the work took on its present form and in 1922, the name of the Unit was changed to Hadassah Medical Organization.

*Curative Work.*—Until 1931, Hadassah maintained in Palestine four major hospitals, of which the Rothschild Hospital in Jerusalem became the center. Here are located the bacteriological



HADASSAH HEALTH WELFARE CENTER, JERUSALEM

laboratory and the Roentgen Institute, as well as the Nurses' Training School. There is a Pathological Institute and museum, and Out-Patient and Neurological Clinics. Attached to this hospital are the heads of departments who serve as directors for their particular fields throughout the country. The Rothschild Hospital, which still receives a small subsidy from the Rothschild family, has been developed as a central hospital from which radiates all medical work and which will ultimately become associated with the medical school of the Hebrew University. In 1933, it had a bed capacity of 143.

In Tel Aviv, the hospital is housed in a new building, erected through the cooperation of the Joint Building Fund of Hadassah and the American Jewish Physicians' Committee with the community of Tel Aviv. It contains 175 beds, but after only a few years of service, this number is inadequate to the needs of the rapidly growing community. Originally subsidized entirely by Hadassah, the responsibility is now shared with the city on the basis of an annually decreasing participation on the part of Hadassah. The Government also participates in its budget and the three parties are represented on the Board which directs it.

The Haifa Hospital has long been housed in an old and inadequate building rented for the purpose. It is hoped that this may be soon transferred to the new building to be financed by Hadassah and the local community together.

The Safed Hospital, because of its location in a dry atmosphere and high altitude, has become the center for tuberculosis care and is the only hospital with a ward devoted to this purpose. The hospital gives general medical care, in addition to the special ward.

In Tiberias, the Peter Schweitzer Hospital was built and equipped by Mrs. Schweitzer in memory of her husband. It was then turned over to the Keren Hayesod who asked Hadassah to maintain the medical activities in it. It was finally opened at a time when fund raising had become difficult owing to the world depression, and with the need for general retrenchment, the newly opened hospital had to be closed. The community of Tiberias continues to be served by an Hadassah clinic where internal diseases, eye, skin and children diseases are treated.

Curative work in the rural districts had been provided through a series of clinics in charge of village doctors and nurses. In 1931,

Hadassah organized the Kupat Holim Amamit (General Sick Benefit Fund) desiring to inaugurate this progressive measure in honor of the seventy-fifth birthday of Justice Louis D. Brandeis. Under its direction, the villages and rural districts are enabled to provide for the expenses of their medical work. By 1932, 3,000 families in thirty-one settlements received medical inspection, service in hospitals and clinics, and general medical aid, under this system.

*Preventive Work.*—Under this heading are Health Welfare, Health Centers, School Hygiene, School Luncheons; and the campaigns against malaria and trachoma.

Through the constant attention of special nurses and clinics, and especially through the School Hygiene Department, trachoma has been almost completely wiped out among Jewish children. Malaria, the most serious enemy of the settlers, was fought by a corps of trained experts until the Malaria Unit was turned over to the Government to be maintained by them. During the years when it was directed by Hadassah, the success of its work won worldwide commendation.

The scope of the Infant Welfare work is wide, taking in the child during the pre-school years, and including pre-natal and post-natal care of the mothers. Since 1921 when it began with one station, the service has grown to twenty-two stations in 1933. From the work done by untrained volunteers under the direction of a doctor, which sufficed for that first station, it has become a complete system with specially trained nurses under the direction of a Chief Pediatrician and an Executive Nurse. One of its most important functions is that of education. Jewish mothers from primitive surroundings share with their neighbors a faith in the evil eye and the power of talismans to cure its mischief. Gradually they have learned that this new witchcraft is always benevolent and they have come to trust their babies to the ministrations of the blue-robed "Hadassah." Follow-up visits to the homes of mothers who come to the stations slowly enforce the lessons in cleanliness, while the Well Baby Clinic assures a growing number of infants the supervision needed to bring them safely through their first year. The results, in terms of reduced infant mortality, fully justify both the hopes and efforts which have built this service. Figures for it, based on the number of deaths per thousand, is as follows:

| | Jews | Moslems |
|---|---|---|
| 1925 | 131.2 | 200. |
| 1927 | 103.3 | 216.8 |
| 1929 | 89.7 | 204.9 |
| 1931 | 81.6 | 187.6 |

In 1932, 4,188 infants and 3,787 children of pre-school age were registered at the stations and 3,937 expectant mothers received care.

The work of the School Luncheons is twofold. Originally designed to provide under-nourished children with one hot meal per day, it has become a means of general health education. A physician examines the children and those whose physical condition demands extra nourishment are then recommended for the Luncheons. These are prepared and served under the direction of a special teacher. Pupils are taught the value of certain foods and their preparation. In a not inconsiderable number of cases, this education is carried into the home by the child with the result that the mother comes to Hadassah for further instruction, thus spreading the work throughout the community.

A large part of the Preventive Service radiates from the two Health Centers, known as the Nathan and Lina Straus Health Centers of Hadassah, the one in Jerusalem and the other in Tel Aviv. Both are in modern well-equipped buildings, the gifts of Nathan and Lina Straus. These house the School Hygiene Department, with its associated Child Guidance and Mental Hygiene Clinics. There are also Day Nurseries, maintained by the Histadruth Nashim Ivrioth. There is a Nutrition Department in the Jerusalem Center which conducts cooking classes, a gymnasium for corrective work, and a pasteurization plant. In the Tel Aviv Center there is a laboratory for food analysis, a medical library, and a school for deaf and mute children. Dental Clinics are conducted in both Centers, and also Stations of the Health Welfare Department. Exhibitions are held at frequent intervals which teach health and its protection through models and posters, through pictures, lectures and dramatic performances.

*Other Activities and Relationships.*—The work of Hadassah in Palestine touches all phases of life. It supervises the Playgrounds where Jewish and Arab children from the most congested quarters of the cities are enabled to have free and healthful play. It estab-

lishes relations with existing organizations and through them distributes to twenty institutions the linens and garments sent by the Palestine Supplies Bureau. It cooperates with the Kupat Holim of the Labor Federation whose members are received into the hospitals at a special low rate. In addition, Hadassah and the American Jewish Physicians' Committee through the Joint Building Fund contributed $25,000 toward the erection of their hospital in the Emek.

Contact with the general community is made through the Vaad Habriut, the Health Council of the Vaad Leumi, which considers health matters affecting the Jewish population of Palestine. Communication with the Government is also through its channels.

In order further to integrate the work of the H.M.O. with the *Yishub,* Hadassah in America organized in 1930 the Palestine Council of Hadassah. The members of this group are mostly American women living in Palestine who have previously been connected with the work in America. To them is given the task of coordinating Hadassah's various Palestinian projects other than the technical medical work. Members of the Council are made chairmen of committees for the different activities, School Luncheons, Playgrounds, etc., and they advise the National Board in America concerning them. Also, through a Publicity Committee, they present the American point of view to the Palestine public. As a result of their efforts, valuable cooperation of experts outside the H.M.O. system has been secured. In addition, the Council establishes contacts with visitors to the country, bringing the work of Hadassah to their attention.

### JUNIOR HADASSAH

As early as 1916, small groups of young girls associated themselves with Hadassah work, yet remained separate from the regular organization. Because of the existence of Young Judaea, it was deemed inadvisable to encourage a separate youth movement. Yet this force made itself felt and in 1920, the Central Committee of Hadassah sanctioned the formation of Junior Hadassah, to consist of girls of eighteen years and more, although no common program of work was mapped out.

In the autumn of 1920, Miss Seligsberg returned from her service in Palestine and brought to the attention of Hadassah a piece of work particularly suited to the Junior organization. This

concerned the orphans who were being cared for by the Joint Distribution Committee, but whose future care was to be relinquished because of the pressure for additional work in Eastern Europe. For the next two or three years, Junior Hadassah, Senior Hadassah and the Joint Distribution Committee cooperated in the financial adoption of orphans. By April, 1921, Junior Hadassah was contributing $12,500 to this work, some of which was given by individual donors through the Juniors.

In 1923, Junior Units were invited to send delegates to the Senior National Convention and a Junior Conference was endorsed. They then presented resolutions to the Convention, requesting the right to elect their own national Chairman who should attend Senior National Board meetings, and at the same time, they pledged themselves to raise a fund for Publications and Propaganda and to work in association with the Senior Cultural Committee. In 1924, the first Junior National Board was elected and the organization took on a national form.

During these years, the Juniors had continued to work through the system of financial adoption of orphans. In 1925, Miss Sophia Berger came to America to raise money for the Children's Village, Meier Shfeyah. She suggested that the Juniors increase their budget to $30,000, and concentrate on the support of the Village. This proposal was adopted and instead of the budget agreed upon, $40,407 was raised. Since that time, the Juniors have taken complete responsibility for the Village. They appointed an Advisory Committee in Palestine with whom they consult in its direction.

The problem of placing the graduates of Meier Shfeyah led to the establishment of a small agricultural colony at Pardess Anna in Rabia, where the boys and girls receive two years of practical experience after leaving the school. When they finish there, they are prepared to earn their livelihood in the adult settlements.

In 1927 the Nurses' Training School became the entire responsibility of Junior Hadassah. Because of the sympathy naturally existing between the young girls in America and the Palestine girls of the same age who enter this school, this work made a special appeal to the Junior organization. In addition, it was a means of integrating the work of the younger group with that of the Seniors. Nor did this tax their resources completely and when the 1926-27 crisis in Palestine resulted in cutting down the education budget there, the Juniors sent their surplus of $20,000

to Miss Szold, as trustee. The following year they again sent a similar sum, which made it possible to keep the kindergartens open.

In addition to these specific projects, Junior Hadassah takes an active part in Jewish National Fund work, while cultural and educational activities are the dominant part of their American program. To this end they conduct study circles and Hebrew classes, the goal of which is the Cultural Fellowship, whose members must have attained a certain standard in Jewish studies. After passing the necessary examination, those qualifying receive gold keys at the Annual Conventions.

Junior Hadassah serves the need for Jewish activity among the young girls, and at the same time trains them in knowledge and in leadership to fill the ranks of the Senior organization as time goes on.

### WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL ZIONIST ORGANIZATION (W.I.Z.O.)

This organization was initiated in 1919 by a group of English women already active in Zionist work. The following year a provisional committee was appointed and the "Jewel Fund" started as a means of raising money to further vocational education for women in Palestine. In 1921 a large conference was held in London, attended by women from the Continent as well, and the organization was officially launched. Another conference followed, in Carlsbad, and the Jewel Fund was extended to Central Europe.

The organization took the form of a federation. The units are based on national divisions and thirty-seven countries, excluding the United States, are represented. It naturally absorbed most of the existing groups other than those who added either a political or religious affiliation to their Zionist work. The organization as such does not pay the shekel for affiliation with the World Zionist Organization.

In 1922, W.I.Z.O. began its Palestinian work by opening a Workers' Kitchen in Tel Aviv, in connection with a school of domestic science. This Hostel, as it is called, attracts chiefly immigrant girls and accommodates thirty pupils at a time for a course of about two years. All branches of domestic economy, farm and garden work, are taught. There is also a six months' course in

cooking in the Workers Kitchen where meals are served to the public at moderate prices. Later, cooking and dressmaking classes were conducted in the towns and villages, with a travelling teacher to carry on the work. One of W.I.Z.O.'s most important activities is organizing kitchens in the *kvutzoth,* where a scientific approach to cooking and dietetics is being spread among the *halutzoth.* Instruction in gardening is also conducted in schools and kindergartens, as well as in the playgrounds of Jerusalem.

Second in importance after domestic training is the agricultural school for girls at Nahalal, in the Emek. The school trains seventy pupils during a two year course of farming suitable to Palestine. That branch of the W.I.Z.O. known as Canadian Hadassah, contributes largely to this project. Agricultural training is also given to girls in special training farms which are partly subsidized by W.I.Z.O. In addition, they support three clinics for Infant Welfare and a Mothercraft Training Center in Tel Aviv. They have a branch in Palestine known as Histadruth Arzith, through which local organizations of Palestinian women have become associated with the international body.

Canadian Hadassah is extremely active in all Zionist work in Canada, supporting Keren Hayesod and Jewish National Fund.

### PIONEER WOMEN'S ORGANIZATION

The Pioneer Women's Organization of America and Europe is the sister organization of the Moazath Hapoaloth (Working Women's Council), which in turn is an integral part of the General Federation of Jewish Labor in Palestine. Through the Palestinian organization, they maintain ten large farms as training schools for girls and women, where surroundings are created that make adaptation to the new country easier. Dairy, cattle raising, poultry and bee culture, planting and domestic science are taught. An average of 300 girls in these ten farms receive training for two years, at the completion of which they are equipped to enter the practical field as workers. Some of these farm-schools specialize in tree nurseries, which yield excellent profits.

The Moazath Hapoaloth also controls and supports three laundry cooperatives, six kitchens and two sewing cooperatives. The Pioneer Women's Organization helps to establish and maintain

kindergartens and homes for the children of working mothers, of which four were in existence in 1932. They also published two noteworthy books, one of which was translated into English and appeared under the title of "The Plough Woman." It is a symposium of personal experiences giving a vivid picture of early pioneer life in Palestine. The other, not translated, is "The Working Woman in Palestine," by Ida Fishman. The Moazath Hapoaloth has also taken an active part in the struggle to raise the status of the working women in Palestine. Together with the Federation of Labor, the Moazath Hapoaloth and the Pioneer Women's Organization strive to create peaceful relations with the Arabs on a basis of a higher standard of living, both economic and cultural. In America, their program brings to the members an understanding of the problems of their race and class by participating in various socialistic and Zionist activities, as well as in work for the Jewish Folk Schools.

### MIZRAHI WOMEN'S ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA

Orthodox Jewish women in America had been active in Zionist work since its inception, but their groups were scattered and unorganized. In 1925, they joined forces in a national federation of Mizrahi Women, united for the upbuilding of the National Homeland in accordance with Jewish traditions and traditional observances.

In America, this organization seeks to arouse the interest and cooperation of all orthodox women and to support all Mizrahi activities. In Palestine, the American organization supports the Technical Home and Culturo-Social Center. This is a vocational school which aims to provide educational opportunities for orthodox girls, both native and immigrant. The curriculum proposed includes domestic science, farming and poultry raising, with some academic and commercial subjects. A dormitory is planned for those girls who will have to be away from home during their two-year course and who wish to live under orthodox conditions.

There are branches of this organization in every important Jewish community in America and it is represented on all Executive and Administrative Committees of the American Mizrahi, also participating in the Zionist Congresses.

### OTHER AMERICAN ORGANIZATIONS

American women are eligible for membership in the Zionist Organization of America on the same terms as men. However, they tend to join groups which work definitely as women's organizations.

*Women's League for Palestine.*—Among these, the Women's League for Palestine is one of the most important. It was founded by Mrs. Richard Gottheil, with the cooperation of Mrs. Ida S. Danziger, shortly after the establishment of the Keren Hayesod. At that time, they functioned as a Campaign Committee of the Keren Hayesod, but later became autonomous. Their headquarters are in New York City and their membership largely drawn from that neighborhood. Their Palestinian project deals with the welfare of the working girl, providing her with a home and educational facilities. They cooperate in the support of the Farm School at Talpioth, where forty girls are trained and also contribute to the Day Nursery in Haifa. Their principal enterprise is the Beth Hachalutzoth on Hadar Hacarmel, Haifa, which contains dormitories for fifty girls, a diet kitchen, laundry, auditorium, library and four classrooms.

### PALESTINE LIGHTHOUSE

The Palestine Lighthouse, organized in February 1927, assumed responsibility for the complete maintenance of blind children in Palestine, giving them food, shelter, clothing and education and instructing them in the arts and crafts, in order to prepare them to become self-supporting.

*Red Mogen David.*—This organization was formed in November, 1917, and its membership quickly increased. Their program was to supply the Jewish Legionnaires with comfort kits, sweaters, etc.; to care for their families during their absence in Palestine, and upon their return, to aid them in becoming self-supporting again. After the war, the Red Mogen David took care of hundreds of war orphans in Palestine. In 1923, they merged with Hadassah, the Women's Zionist Organization of America, although in 1933, there still existed in Philadelphia the remnants of this organization, working within the framework of Hadassah.

### PALESTINIAN ORGANIZATIONS

Two groups of organized women dominate the field in Palestine. Although now affiliated with W.I.Z.O., they continue to be unified groups, recognized as such. One is the Histadruth Nashim Ivrioth (Jewish Women's Organization). It was formed in 1920, at the initiative of a number of Hadassah members then resident in Palestine who believed that indigenous groups should be encouraged to develop their own particular character. Miss Henrietta Szold addressed the first meeting, at which about forty women were present who represented almost as many lands and languages. Their purpose was social service and, although this has taken various forms, it has always continued to be their field. At first the Histadruth did much to teach Hebrew to its members as being a prerequisite for public service. Work among women and children was its first concern and it cooperated with Hadassah in the Infant Welfare Stations, the distribution of clothing and linens, and other social work. Independently, it opened day nurseries for which there was an urgent need; supported kindergartens, a shop for home industries, evening classes for working girls, and summer camps for sickly children. It organized a special Children's Fund which is collected in Palestine. In 1932, it had five branches in cities and eight in villages, with a membership of 3,950. Its central committee is in Jerusalem. Though it has carried out its fundamental aim of social service, it failed in its object of becoming an all-inclusive women's organization. It tends to represent the middle class women in counterdistinction to the workers' groups.

The Moatzath Hapoaloth (Working Women's Council) is the women's branch of the Federation of Jewish Labor in Palestine. There is also an Equal Rights Society which has worked to procure through changes in the laws, especially those of the Rabbinic Courts, equal right for women and children, modernization of marriage, divorce and inheritance laws, and all others dealing with domestic problems.

### WOMEN IN ZIONISM

Work for Palestine has become a center about which women with strong Jewish feelings can gather. It has become the focus for those who seek to express Jewishly their social or political phi-

losophies. It has become for many women a training ground where they learn how to work. And most important of its many phases, Zionism has been the means of bringing back to Jewish interests many women influenced by the assimilationist trend of Western Jewish life. In the service of the Jewish National Home there have arisen countless impressive leaders. In Palestine and in the Diaspora, women have proven their ability in the most difficult types of work. They have organized and directed; they have worked and served. Among them, the figure of Henrietta Szold emerges, probably the outstanding Jewess of her time. With a background of traditional training, to which she added the qualities of leadership, she was able to draw together the women of America and to impress them with the need for organized effort and the methods best suited to their needs. Few individual contributions to the upbuilding of the National Home can equal hers, not the least of which was bringing to it the devoted service of thousands of other women. To the future historian, Palestine will spell the name of Henrietta Szold.

# JEWISH EDUCATION IN PALESTINE

BY DR. ISAAC B. BERKSON *

## JEWISH NATIONALISM AND EDUCATION

"When the Jewish people lost their national soil, their substitute was a national education. Hence education has not been one of the issues of their national life. It has itself been the heart and center of national existence. So one cannot speak of Jewish education growing up among the Jewish settlers of Palestine, because Jewish Education was the cause of settlement.

## THE RELIGIOUS SCHOOLS—HEDARIM, TALMUD TORAHS, YESHIBOTH

"For centuries—ever since the dispersion, Jews have gone to Palestine to study there. The purpose of Jewish settlement was to keep aflame the torch of Jewish learning. Hence the Old Settlement was conditioned by its schools, and the *Haluka* itself subsidized its pauper communities in order that they might spend their lives in the *Yeshiboth* of the Holy Land. The old system of education was wholly religious, consisting only of Bible, Talmud and later Rabbinic literature. No attention whatever was paid to such matters as health and hygiene, fresh air, play, exercise, mathematics, handicrafts or languages. The language in which Bible and Talmud were taught was almost never Hebrew, but Yiddish or Ladino or Arabic. In the *Hedarim* and the *Talmud Torah* Schools, the teaching was unsystematic, carried on by the 'rebbe' whose chief qualification often seemed to be lack of qualification for anything else. The rooms were badly equipped and usually unsanitary, the hours were excessively long. No provision was made for the education of girls. Who cared whether the children were anaemic, apathetic, diseased and dirty?"

* Based on reports and articles by Dr. Berkson, Director of Education, Jewish Agency for Palestine.

### PAST AND FUTURE IN THE PRESENT

In Palestine, as western visitors note of oriental countries generally, past and present seem contemporaneous. This is as true of Jewish life as of the whole Palestinian scene. Thus Kabbalism lives side by side with Communism, not only in the minds of individuals here and there, but as modes of life for different sections of the population.

This is illustrated in the development of the Jewish school in Palestine. In Jerusalem one may begin with the *Etz Hayim Talmud Torah and Yeshivah* in the Old City. There are more ancient institutions, this one having been founded only ninety years ago, but it will serve, in method and content, to bring us back to mediaeval days. Then one may pass through the schools of *the Alliance Israelite Universelle,* to the Zionist schools, *Mizrahi* and General, and finish up with the progressive School of the Parents' Association, where the new education with its orientations, projects and rhythmics is being applied in Palestine. In the course of a morning the busy visitor may cover five centuries of cultural history.

The traditional Jewish school is a bookish school. It was called into being by the bibliocentric character of Judaism and the democratic teaching, "And all thy sons shall be taught of the Lord." The usual current Hebrew term for school, midrashic in origin, is *Beth Hasefer,* "The House of the Book", and the Jewish school has traditionally lived up to its name.

Zionism was bound to effect revolutionary changes in the wholly bookish, wholly religious character of traditional Jewish education. For even though the new movement had roots in Messianism, in age-long religious and sentimental longing for "Return to Zion", it was in itself quite modern in pattern.

### HEBREW REVIVED IN THE SCHOOLS

A first task was to make Hebrew the language of the school as a means of reviving it as the language of Jewish life. "If we wish our nation to survive, if we wish our children to be Hebrews, we must educate them in the Hebrew language, and make it the chief language of instruction of our children". Thus proclaimed Ben Yehudah of Jerusalem about fifty years ago; and with the help of the late Nissim Behar, then principal of the *Alliance*

Schools in Jerusalem, he introduced Hebrew as the language of instruction for Jewish subjects, Bible, Hebrew literature, etc. In the early nineties, instruction through Hebrew in arithmetic and geography and sometimes in other subjects was already being given in several of the newly founded settlements in Judea, instruction in arithmetic having been first introduced in Rishon Lezion in 1889. In 1893, the *Hoveve Zion* and the *Alliance Israelite Universelle,* under joint auspices, opened two schools in Jaffa, one for boys and the other for girls, in which Hebrew was to be the chief language of instruction. Arithmetic, geography, history, in addition to Jewish subjects, were taught in Hebrew; nature study, Arabic, besides French itself, were taught in French. The *Hoveve Zion* partners in the enterprise had great hopes for this new venture. "To consecrate this house to the education of enlightened Hebrew teachers who would from their youth be called and would dedicate themselves to a high purpose, and from this house they would go forth and spread through *Eretz Israel* and the Diaspora and raise the flag of Judaism to the ends of the earth."

But not all the principals of the *Alliance* Schools shared Nissim Behar's faith and enthusiasm for the national cultural idealism of the Lovers of Zion. The directors of the *Alliance* were moved essentially by practical and philanthropic motives. They wished to prepare pupils to make a living in Palestine and were not ready to sacrifice pedagogical efficiency to linguistic difficulties encountered in the use of Hebrew as the medium of instruction. Even Ahad Ha-am, deeply interested as he was in the revival of Hebrew culture, expressed grave doubts on his first visit to Palestine in 1889 concerning the feasibility of using Hebrew as a language of instruction at that time and counselled that its use be postponed until it had struck stronger roots. It was due to his influence after another visit in 1900 that the partnership with the *Alliance* in the Jaffa schools was broken up. The Boys' School was turned over to the *Alliance,* the Girls' School to the *Hoveve Zion.* The latter, under the guidance of Nissim Touroff, who became principal in 1902, developed along the lines that its founders had hoped, played an important role in the development of the Hebrew school system, and formed the basis later for the establishment of the Training School for Women Teachers and Kindergartners in Tel Aviv.

The decade before the War was a period of struggle and development in which the Teachers' Organization exercised a domi-

nating influence in the Hebraization of the schools. The use of Hebrew as sole medium of instruction spread from villages to cities, from the elementary grades to kindergartens, secondary and professional schools, from the ranks of *Maskilim* to the orthodox. In 1913 the number of institutions using Hebrew as the sole medium of instruction reached sixty, with 2,600 pupils. These included practically all the kindergartens and elementary schools in the villages, a half dozen elementary schools in the cities, the two gymnasias * in Jaffa and Jerusalem, the Training School for Women Teachers and Kindergartners in Tel Aviv, the Bezalel Art School in Jerusalem, and the Agricultural School at Mikwe Israel. The schools were controlled by various authorities, but were united by the striving for cultural self-expression through the medium of Hebrew.

The "Battle of Languages", fought around the Technicum at Haifa on the eve of the Great War, marked the crisis of the struggle and the turning point to victory. During the decade before the War, the German society Ezra, associated with the *Hilfsverein der deutschen Juden*, had been active in promoting educational work and had developed a system of kindergartens and elementary schools, crowned by a Teachers' Training School in Jerusalem. From the very beginning these schools gave a larger place to Hebrew and were more hospitable to the national idea than were the *Alliance* schools. At first all instruction in secular subjects was given in German; later, in great measure in response to influence exerted by the teachers, most of the subjects in most of the classes were taught in Hebrew; in the end, schools in villages and outlying cities were converted into all Hebrew schools, only those in Jaffa and Jerusalem remaining bilingual. But when the *Real-Gymnasium* and *Technicum* at Haifa, which Zionists had cooperated in establishing, were about to be opened, the *Hilfsverein* announced that the language of instruction was to be German. The old conflict between desire for effective teaching and faith in the development of Hebrew broke out afresh. By this time the *Yishub* was aroused by the apprehension of the decisive influence of various foreign societies competing for cultural domination in Palestine. "All of these foreign schools, unconscious tools of a political propaganda, instead of unifying the Jewish popula-

* The term *gymnasia* is used in modern Hebrew as a singular to denote a secondary school modelled on the continental *gymnasium*.

tion, helped to divide it. Children of the same family spoke different languages, according to the schools they attended". When the Ezra refused to yield to the plan of a compromise in which Hebrew was to be gradually introduced, insisting that "the natural and technical sciences will be taught in German, so that this most cultured of tongues may serve as a bridge to the scientific development of the modern epoch", a hot wave of protest burst from the *Yishub.* The teachers of the Ezra schools walked out in a body and organized a boycott to prevent parents from sending their children to the proscribed institutions. A "Society for the Strengthening of Hebrew Education in Palestine" was formed. The Zionist Organization and the Odessa Committee of *Hoveve Zion* gave moral support and subscribed funds. A Board of Education, *Vaad Hahinuch,* was created which took over the control of about a dozen schools. At the last moment, the *Hilfsverein,* influenced by the American members of the Board of Trustees, were ready to yield, but the War broke out and activity was interrupted.

Despite untold difficulties, progress was made during the War period. "One of the marvels of Palestine's reaction to the war was the stubborn resolve to keep the schools open at any cost. Often that included feeding and caring for the children. Many teachers were banished. Funds failed to arrive. The whole Jewish population of Jaffa and part of that of Jerusalem were banished to Northern Palestine. Among the refugees' camps the *Vaad Hahinuch* established schools". The *Vaad Hahinuch,* formed in the stress of the language struggle, continued to function under the auspices of the Palestine Office of the Zionist Organization. At the end of the War the number of institutions under its control had doubled. With the British Occupation, the Zionist Administration in Palestine was established and under it a Department of Education was formed which, with the *Vaad Hahinuch,* took over management of the Hebrew School System. In 1919 ninety-four institutions of all grades, from kindergartens to Teachers' Training Schools, were affiliated or maintained, and total enrollment was more than 10,000 pupils. By that time, Hebrew had become the language of instruction for all subjects in all grades of schools affiliated with the united Zionist System. In the last decade, the system of Hebrew Schools has steadily expanded with the growth of the *Yishub* and has gained official recognition of Government as the Hebrew Public System of Education. In 1930-1931 there

were enrolled in the institutions maintained by or affiliated with the Department of Education of the Jewish Agency more than 22,500 pupils, which represents more than two-thirds of the total number of children attending Jewish schools in Palestine. Many unaffiliated schools have, through Zionist influence, adopted Hebrew as medium of instruction, either wholly, as in case of certain private schools and in Children's Villages conducted by affiliated Zionist bodies, or partly, as in case of the *Alliance* Schools and the Evelina de Rothschild School in Jerusalem maintained by the Anglo-Jewish Association. Only the extreme orthodox, the *Talmud Torahs* and *Yeshiboth* of the Agudath Israel, and the unorganized *Hedarim,* still use Yiddish. For them Hebrew is too holy to be used as a means to an end, as a mere instrument of instruction. But there are signs of inroads even in this direction.

The Jewish community, divided into many groups under two main divisions of Ashkenazic and Sephardic, had no common language and in the competition of French, German, English, Yiddish, not to speak of Turkish and Arabic, as culture bearers, no single tongue could achieve the position of cultural domination. Hebrew filled this void.

Hebrew text books and books in general are not yet sufficiently plentiful for good pedagogy or a well rounded education. But here, too, rapid progress is being made through the efforts of *Dvir* and *Omanuth,* and other smaller publishing houses or individual publishers. During 1931 more than three hundred Hebrew publications were issued.

The rebirth of Hebrew must still seem something of a miracle to members of the present generation of teachers and educational workers, who remember a time in their youth when spoken Hebrew was an artificial esoteric accomplishment, as spoken Latin or Greek might be.

## UNITIES IN THE CURRICULUM

Side by side with the struggle to make Hebrew the language of instruction as a means of making it the language of Jewish life went the effort to introduce secular subjects as an organic part of the program of studies. The battle, as in the introduction of Hebrew itself, was against two fronts; on one hand, against the obscurantist orthodox view that secular subjects were forbidden

fruit, on the other hand, against the several Western educational societies operating in Palestine, which heartily encouraged teaching of secular subjects, each group believing, however, that its own language, French, German, or English, was best adapted for this.

The main outlines of the present unified Hebrew course of study for elementary schools were first set down in 1907 by a subcommittee of the Teachers' Organization. In their introduction, it is stated that the authors "did not deem it necessary to reckon with the present transitory condition of the schools, but kept before their eyes that type of school which should and could become the normal public school in our land and to which we should attain in the near future." In the curriculum proposed, we find the eight-year elementary school taken as a basis. Although only a few schools applied the course of study in those early years, the proposed curriculum became the model and was put into effect in a continuously widening range of schools as the system of Hebrew schools developed and was brought under centralized control. It became the basis for the official course of study and is now being carried out with a fair degree of uniformity. In the present course English has been substituted for French, and Arabic has altogether fallen out of the elementary syllabus. As a result of an overcrowded curriculum, teaching of Arabic has been postponed to Secondary Schools, where it is a compulsory subject. The necessity of combining an adequate course in Bible, Hebrew Language, and an elementary knowledge of a European tongue presents a very difficult task to the pedagogue, to the modern one who has many extra-curricular activities to provide for and to the conservative or orthodox one who, as will shortly be shown, has larger demands to make as far as traditional subjects of study are concerned.

### DIVERSITIES IN PROGRAM AND IN ORGANIZATION

The program of studies which incorporates two basic principles, (1) Hebrew as the language of instruction, (2) secular subjects as an organic part of the curriculum on a par with Jewish subjects, was the achievement of teachers who were associated with what have come to be known as "General" schools. Even in the early days of struggle for modernization of the Jewish school, there were groups of orthodox parents who, influenced by the nationalistic Hebraic outlook and recognizing the value of secular subjects,

nevertheless were not satisfied with the new schools. For the new schools did not include, as a positive aim, the inculcation of religious practices and principle, and gave little or no attention to study of Talmud, which was the main subject of study in the traditional *Heder* and *Yeshivah*. In the decade before the War, two schools, called *Tahkemoni,* were established by orthodox parents, one in Jaffa and the other in Jerusalem, in which the aim was to retain the core of the *Heder* and the *Yeshivah* curriculum, Bible with traditional commentaries, and Talmud, and to add thereto a modicum of secular subjects, arithmetic, Hebrew language and Jewish history. In one of these schools secular subjects were alone at first taught in Hebrew, whereas sacred subjects were taught in Yiddish translation, which was the vernacular of the children. These schools received the support of Orthodox Zionist circles in Germany. Under the influence of the teachers, the schools assumed a more modern and Hebraic character, and after the Battle of Languages they became part of the Hebrew school system affiliated with the *Vaad Hahinuch.*

When the Department of Education was established under the Zionist Administration in Palestine, the *Mizrahi,* which formed the conservative or right wing of the Zionist Organization, made maintenance of these schools and development of orthodox education in Palestine one of the main planks in its platform. From the very beginning, then, orthodox schools formed an integral part of the school system, being maintained by Zionist funds on the same basis as the "General" schools. Autonomous rights in internal affairs were also granted, and to safeguard these rights large powers of control over *Mizrahi schools,* as they came to be known, were given to a special *Mizrahi* Supervisory Council. Today the educational work, therefore, has two main branches, "General" schools, in which about sixty per cent of the children are enrolled, and *Mizrahi* schools, in which about one-third of the total receive instruction. The schools of the Labor Group, in which about seven per cent of the children are enrolled, have even a greater degree of administrative autonomy than the *Mizrahi.* Separate types of schools are maintained in the Secondary School grade, and even through the Teachers' Training Schools. The *Vaad Hahinuch,* an elected body which decides on main matters of educational policy common to all schools, includes representatives from the three party groupings in practically equal strength.

Notwithstanding the danger of diversity and the expense of a certain amount of duplication, it was a wise social judgment which avoided the imposition of one point of view. The varieties of religious experience and inexperience in the New Palestine are many, and it would have been fatuous to foist one idea upon all, whether religious or otherwise. At the present time, in the larger cities at least, parents have a choice of sending their children either to a *Mizrahi* or to a "General" school. In the villages, where only one school can be supported, parents decide by majority vote under which type of supervision the school is to be conducted. This scheme is open to the objection that even a minority ought not to be forced into the position of having to accept a non-religious school if they desire a religious education for their children. But the *modus vivendi* agreed upon both by *Mizrahi* and "General" Groups probably represents the best solution without unduly increasing expenditures. It should be emphasized that the "General" schools are not anti-religious. They all include teaching of Bible as a central subject and observe traditional customs. The "General" course of a study sets down minimum essentials; its program is less doctrinaire than *Mizrahi* or *Labor*. In fact, "General" schools reflect roughly the attitude of the community in which they are situated, so that some of them are quite religious in character.

The schools of the Cultural Committee of the Labor Federation, which comprise the other, or left, wing, are a more recent development, having grown in the last decade, with the coming of the *Halutzim* and the establishment of Zionist settlements in the Emek Israel. If *Mizrahi* schools are truest to the Jewish past and retain more of the literary tradition of the "House of the Book", these schools may be said to direct themselves to the future, to the task of upbuilding of Palestine on the basis of labor. The educational work of the Labor group is avowedly unreligious; though not anti-religious, it should be emphasized, and, unlike the practice in the "General" schools, no deference is paid to traditional customs, such as wearing a cap while teaching the Bible. Nevertheless, *Tanach* (Bible) is taught with enthusiasm, as the great classic of Hebrew literature, as the source of Jewish social idealism, and as intimately bound up with the spirit of the hills and valleys where the workers live and toil. Some of the schools are conducted under the guiding ideas of the new education. These ideas, originating in America, have come to Palestine

not directly, but via Russia, and have in their travels acquired a Russian accent; i.e., education must be related, not merely to the social, but also to the socialist situation. Undoubtedly the Labor schools instil into the minds of their youth ideology as the guiding principle of social economic organization. Like the *Mizrahi,* they have a definite doctrine to inculcate. The Labor groups have gone beyond other groups in adapting education to realities around them, to the need of developing workers, the Laborer rather than the *Lamdan* (scholar versed in Jewish law) being their ideal. In some places the seven- or eight-hour day has been divided into two parts; while half the school studies, the other half is engaged in work. Their single urban school is situated in Tel Aviv, where, with all too limited means, they are conducting an experimental school on "project" lines. In addition to elementary schools and kindergartens supported by funds from the regular budget of the Department of Education, evening classes for adults and working youths have been maintained, toward which the Jewish Agency has in the past contributed a special grant-in-aid. A wide range of activities is covered. There are evening classes in Hebrew language and literature for recent immigrants and other adults who require them. Systematic courses of lectures are given in social sciences and various aspects of Jewish life and Hebrew literature. Evening classes are maintained for youths from the ages of 11 to 17, who are employed during the day and who have either never attended school or were forced to leave school after a few years of study. The working youth is also organized into social and literary clubs in groups of about 15 members each. A special Bureau is concerned with circulation of newspapers and periodicals to workingmen's reading rooms which have been established in 117 places of which about 100 are in rural communities. A circulating library has been organized to provide reading matter and text books for workers. Excursions are arranged from time to time to various parts of the country, under direction of trained guides, in which several hundred persons participate each year. Concerts and plays are conducted for workers in cities and in rural districts. The dramatic group, *Ohel,* runs its studio with the moral support of the Labor Organization and has also received some financial aid.

In general, the Labor school group enjoys a greater degree of administrative autonomy than the other two types as it receives

financial aid from the central treasury of the Agency in the form of a subsidy. Their teachers are paid directly by the Cultural Committee of the Labor Federation (*Vaadath Hatarbuth*), as the managing agency is termed, and as members of that organization they receive the same scale as other workers, a scale somewhat lower than that of teachers of the Department of Education. The schools of the Labor Federation are considered, nevertheless, an integral part of the unified system of Hebrew schools affiliated with the Department of Education of the Jewish Agency, and they are subject to inspection by the Director or his deputies, and responsible to the authority of the *Vaad Hahinuch* in matters of fundamental policy in national education.

The following table shows the comparative distribution of the three types of schools for 1930-1931:

| | No. of Schools | No. of Full Time Teaching Posts | No. of Pupils | % Pupils of Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| General ..... | 139 | 490 | 13,996 | 62.2 |
| Mizrahi ..... | 60 | 213 | 6,739 | 29.9 |
| Labor ..... | 59 | 85 | 1,798 | 7.91 |
| | 258 | 788 | 22,533 | 100 |

The Hebrew School System of Palestine, centralized through the Department of Education, represents a unification of heterogeneous elements. A basic, elemental unity was achieved by the will of the teachers for a course of study in which Jewish and secular studies would be synthesized in a modern curriculum through the use of Hebrew. This inner unity was later consolidated by an administrative unity, by bringing the Hebrew schools under the directing authority of the Zionist Organization which maintained and developed the system in the decade after British Occupation and succeeded in having it recognized by the Palestine Government as the Hebrew Public System of Education, parallel to the Government Arab Public System of Education.

### THE PALESTINE GOVERNMENT: ITS SYSTEM OF EDUCATION

The development of the latter offers a striking contrast to the Jewish situation. Under Turkish rule there was no public Arabic

elementary school, the official language of instruction being Turkish. Even of education in Turkish, little was supplied. In theory, education was free and compulsory, but in practice almost no support was given. Most Moslem children who attended school received their education in Koran schools of a wholly religious type comparable, externally at least, to the Jewish *Heder*. For Christian Arabs elementary education was provided on a fairly adequate scale by Mission bodies, each teaching in the European language of the country of origin. The Government could make a fresh start, and since all funds for maintenance are supplied from the Treasury and the schools are administered by officials not responsible to public bodies, a uniform system of education has been developed, which has the advantage of simplicity of administration, and other superiorities, as well as deficiencies, perhaps, that naturally result from strongly centralized management.

The Government Department of Education, of which the headquarters is at Jerusalem, is controlled by a director, with an assistant director, both British. Associated with them at the Headquarters' Office are an inspector and a central clerical and administrative staff. The inspectorate is divided into an Arab and a Jewish section, for the general control and supervision of Arab and Jewish schools respectively, while district inspectors in Jerusalem, Jaffa, and Nablus, each with an office and local store of school material, are responsible for Government Schools within their own district.

There is a Board of Higher Studies which conducts standardized Matriculation and University Standard Entrance Examinations, in Arabic, Hebrew and English, leading to a Palestine Diploma. A four-year Law course has been given by the Government in Arabic, Hebrew and English,—prerequisite, college matriculation. Graduates may be admitted to the Palestinian Bar.

The total enrollment in Jewish Agency Schools is not much smaller than the total in Government Schools. Whereas the Christian and Jewish population is well cared for, if not by Government then by private institutions, only one child out of four or five among Moslem Arabs is enrolled in a school. These figures include Moslem Religious Schools as well as Government and Christian schools. The present scheme condemns Palestine for many years to illiteracy as far as the majority of the Moslem population is concerned. The full consequences of this basic fact involves not

only the Arab community, but the whole development of the land and the Jewish community in it. It is a matter of basic concern for all sections of the population to demand a revision of policy with reference to the amounts allotted by the Government to education, and in this matter there is place for a common platform on which Jews and Arabs can stand together.

### GOVERNMENT SUPPORT OF JEWISH EDUCATION

The irregularity in receipt of funds and recurring financial "crises" are playing havoc with orderly and efficient management of Jewish educational work. It is being realized more and more that the school system with its growing needs cannot be made to depend mainly on funds derived from voluntary collections abroad. The prevailing viewpoint among leaders of the Jewish Agency is that a larger share of the financial burden, as well as the chief responsibility for administration of the educational system, should be transferred to Palestinian bodies, to the organized Jewish community (Vaad Leumi), and to the Palestine Government. In 1932 the Jewish school system was transferred to the central Vaad Leumi. There are undoubtedly still great difficulties in the way, among which are unsatisfactory local organization and inadequate taxation systems.

One of the main obstacles lies in the insufficient support given to education by the Government. Jewish townships and villages, wherever organized, are straining themselves to give a maximum contribution in the form of local self-taxation or through tuition fees, but not many communities can conduct educational work without assistance from the central authority. The grant-in-aid from the Government covers only one-ninth of the educational costs, considerably less if private schools are included. The Government grant to Jewish schools is fixed on the basis of the ratio of the Jews in the total population, but a far larger percentage of Jewish children attend school, and calculated in terms of *per capita* cost, the Government spends roughly LP.1 *per capita* on every child in the Hebrew public school system, and LP.5 *per capita* on every child in the Arab public school system.

The question has been raised as to whether the grant could be based on the number of children attending school rather than on

the ratio of Jews in the total population. It is true that in most countries the school grant is always related in one way or another to the magnitude of the educational task, including the number of children to be taught. But in Palestine, with the great difference in cultural level between the Jewish and Arab sections of the population, it would not be just to make school enrollment alone the basis of the grant-in-aid. For in that case those who need the education most would receive even less assistance than they do now. Such a procedure would be inadvisable also from the political point of view. The Arabs would maintain that the Jews are able to provide considerable sums for education out of funds from abroad, so increase the enrollment, and in turn obtain an unduly large share of the local Government funds derived from taxation. However, school enrollment should not be left out of consideration entirely; it should enter as one factor in the calculation of the grant, and as long as there exists considerable disparity in the relative proportion of school attendance in the various sections of the population, this factor should be a minor one.

But it should be evident that the main difficulty does not lie in the method of apportioning the present Government educational budget, but rather in the amount now voted for the educational services as a whole. Only about 6% of the Government expenditure is devoted to educational purposes. Government pleads poverty in reply to the demand to increase its allotment to education, but one cannot avoid the feeling that the inadequate consideration given to the educational problem is, in some measure, due to the general conservatism and aristocratic attitude prevailing in Colonial Administrations in the East with reference to public support of elementary educational and other services. The Hebrew public school system, like public education in general in Palestine, depends in the last analysis upon more generous support from the Government if it is to be placed on a firm foundation.

### FACTS AND FIGURES OF THE JEWISH SCHOOL SYSTEM

The system of schools under the supervision of the Jewish Agency includes all types and grades: Kindergartens, Elementary, Secondary and Teachers' Training Schools, divided as follows (1930-1931):

| | No. of Schools | No. of Teachers | No. of Full Time Teaching Posts | No. of Pupils |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Kindergartens | 138 | 177 | 177 | 5,000 |
| Elementary Schools | 106 | 544 | 467.3 | 15,031 |
| Secondary Schools | 4 | 86 | 76.3 | 1,489 |
| Teachers Training Schools | 4 | 45 | 29.8 | 500 |
| Vocational and other schools | 6 | 45 | 37.7 | 513 |
| | 258 | 897 | 788.1 | 22,533 |

The general tendency is towards co-education, which exists in all rural schools and in all the *Gymnasias.*

The kindergarten work is exceptionally well developed both from the point of view of number attending and the quality of work. The first Hebrew kindergarten was established in 1903 with the conventional Froebel program. Since then the kindergartens have been influenced by Montessori methods, and now generally follow a program of play and constructive activities. In the kindergartens, children coming from homes speaking a variety of languages learn Hebrew, thus acquiring a common language for school work. In addition, the kindergartens have helped in exemplary fashion in the cure of contagious diseases and have played a particularly important role in the remarkable reduction in recent years of trachoma in Palestine. The kindergartens serve also as nursery schools, particularly those conducted by the Cultural Committee of the Labor Federation.

The Secondary Schools, of which three are subsidized by the Jewish Agency, are modelled after the continental *Gymnasium* and provide an eight-year course of study, of which the first four years parallel the last four years of Elementary School. The *Real Schule* at Haifa was founded on the lines of the Prussian *Real Gymnasium,* but is developing along freer and more modern lines. The *Gymnasium* in Jerusalem gives a humanistic course in which Hebrew literature and language is the basis. The Herzliah *Gymnasium* in Tel Aviv, which is the largest school, offers both classical and scientific studies.

Four Teachers' Training Schools are maintained: two for



KINDERGARTEN IN HAIFA

*Mizrahi* or Orthodox teachers and two for the General Schools, one for men and one for women in each group.

The Hebrew Technical Institute in Haifa admits graduates of Secondary Schools and offers courses in Engineering and Architecture. Its first class of seventeen was graduated in 1928. It now has about one hundred and twenty-five students. A trade school is also conducted in machine shop work for elementary school graduates.

In spite of considerable educational activity along vocational lines in various schools, the work in this direction may be regarded as inadequate, particularly from the point of view of a directed and comprehensive program.

The largest agricultural school is that situated at Mikwe Israel, near Jaffa, under control of the *Alliance Israelite*. One hundred and fifty students, nearly all Jewish, attend a three years' course in the theory and practice of agriculture. At Nahalal, near Haifa, an agricultural school for Jewish girls is maintained by the Women's International Zionist Organization (W.I.Z.O.). Under the Kadoorie bequest, two agricultural schools are now under projection, one at Tul Karm for Arabs, the other for Jews at the foot of Mount Tabor. The Jewish "Children's Villages" at Meier Shfeya, supported by Junior Hadassah, and at Ben Shemen, which is supported by a group of German Jews, in both of which the majority of the pupils are orphans, as well as a few private schools of the same sort recently started, combine an agricultural training with general education and instruction in domestic science. Ben Shemen, which is affiliated with the Working Youth of the General Federation of Jewish Labor, might be called a children's *Kvutzah*.

A number of working girls' groups, organized like *Kvutzoth*, but with a two years' regular training course in agriculture, under the direction of *Moazath Hapoalath* (Women Workers' Council) are in some measure self-supporting. They were first started as truck gardens for groups of girls during the war, when both vegetables and means of support were lacking.

Among vocational schools must be mentioned the Nurses' Training School maintained by Junior Hadassah, several music schools, metal work schools, dressmaking schools and commercial high schools.

The number of Hebrew private schools and educational enterprises is steadily growing. Since Deborah Kallen, of Boston, started

the School of the Parents' Association ten years ago, the new ideas in education have found various expression. The Evelina de Rothschild Girls' School in Jerusalem, of the Anglo-Jewish Association, has 700 pupils, and though English still has an important place in it, the use of Hebrew is steadily increasing. This latter is true also of the French *Alliance Israelite,* which has over 3,000 pupils in its various schools. In the unorganized, mainly Yiddish speaking *Talmud Torah* schools and *Yeshivoth* there are about 3,500 pupils. Defective children have not been forgotten. For years, an institution for the blind maintained by the Palestine Lighthouse with vocational training and Hebrew studies, has been conducted and recently day schools for the deaf and dumb and for mentally deficient children have been opened. Despite this varied activity, with perhaps an undue scattering of forces, the enrollment in the schools maintained by or affiliated with the Department of Education of the Jewish Agency still represents about two-thirds of the total number of Jewish children attending schools in Palestine.

Medical examinations are conducted in all schools of the Jewish Agency through the School Hygiene Department of the Hadassah Medical Organization. Clinics for the treatment of trachoma have been established in centrally located schools and have played an important part in the reduction of trachoma in Palestine. Lunches are supplied in elementary schools and kindergartens by the School Luncheon Fund of Hadassah. The basic purpose of these luncheons is educational, to train the pupils in the preparation of food, dietetic values, serving of meals, and proper conduct in the kitchen and at table. At the same time, more than 3,600 children in the poorest districts of Palestine receive one proper meal daily.

Gymnastics are included as part of the regular school program and are conducted on modern as well as conventional lines. The wealth of Palestine in scenic beauty and historical interest has led to the development of hikes, *Tee-oolim,* as a regular part of school life. Outside the schools, sports are being stimulated among the youth by sport organizations, the *Maccabee* and *Hapoel,* and by organized games and contests. There are several Scout organizations and a number of agricultural clubs, but this work still leaves much to be desired. Five playgrounds organized on American lines have been opened and are supported by a special American fund, administered by Hadassah. Something is done in the way of manual training in most elementary schools; sewing is part of

the regular program for girls' classes. Most of the village schools have vegetable gardens.

Of schools under the direction of the Jewish Agency, a number are supported wholly or in part by other organizations, for example the 20 schools in the *PICA* settlements. About half the income for the Jewish Agency schools comes from Palestine school fees and half from abroad. Enrollment in the schools maintained by or affiliated with the Jewish Agency is steadily increasing. The financial difficulties experienced by the Agency in carrying the responsibility for educational work, coupled with the reorganization of the *Vaad Leumi* as *Knesseth Israel,* have caused the transfer of education to the *Yishub.* A study of the problem has indicated that whereas transfer of responsibility is desirable for many reasons, this transfer is not likely to lead in the near future to any reduction of the sums required from the Jewish Agency or other sources in the Diaspora, if educational service is to be kept at its present minimal level. The work is disturbed by discussions arising out of proposed reductions in salary to teachers and by failure to pay salaries for many months at a time. There are, of course, no funds for normal constructive development, such as continuation schools, vocational education, development of text books, educational supplies, or a planned school building program. There is no item in the educational budget for school buildings.

The aim is to maintain a system of elementary schools which will take in every Jewish child whose parents apply for admission. At present, with sixty children in a class and three children sitting on benches made for two, the schools are forced to refuse admission to more, so that there are today about 1,300 children attending Mission Schools in Palestine, which is a disgrace to all Jewry. Complete solution of the financial problem can come only when legislation obligating local communities to impose education rates will be effected, and when the Government will appropriate sums large enough to make possible a universal system of free elementary education.

One may venture to say that new types of Jews are indeed being formed in Palestine, physically and spiritually. But in any evaluation of the work of the schools, one must bear in mind how very recent the new educational influence is. Although the system may be said to be a generation old, the majority of the Jewish population of Palestine are recent immigrants, and neither they

nor their children have gone through Palestinian schools. Above all, we must not lose sight of the fact that the school, always a product of the environment, is itself only part of the total educational influence of any type of social life.

A small settlement of Jews, drawn from the four corners of the earth, making a determined stand in the fight for Jewish life; an environment which, with all its rare beauty and historical and geographical wealth, is nevertheless poor in material resources; a surrounding sea of Arabs, some in a primitive, some in a Levantine state of civilization; the constant agitations of an uncertain political situation: in all this there is, no doubt, ground for apprehension as well as for hope.

One basic thesis of Cultural Zionism is surely being verified by the experience of the new settlement, namely, that for preservation and development of Jewish life, a socially and culturally autonomous life is essential. It is clear that a fortress against assimilation is being erected here in Palestine. Jewish life in its diverse manifestations, religious, communal, cultural, national, is intensified. Less readily perceived, but of fundamental spiritual significance, are certain psychological effects of living in Palestine, the feeling of being at home, and the sense of participating in a creative undertaking. Jewish life and life in general—for both are one to the Jew living in Palestine—are clothed with an immediately felt significance.

### THE HEBREW UNIVERSITY

"The agitation for a Hebrew University dates back to the early days of Zionism. Doctor Hermann Schapira, originator of the Jewish National Fund, first proposed it. Later the idea was taken up by many others, not only Zionists, and all agreed that the University must be Hebrew in every sense, using Hebrew as the language of instruction, yet for some time it seemed possible that it might have to be founded elsewhere than in Palestine. At the eleventh Zionist Congress, 1913, Dr. Weizmann, professor in the University of Manchester, who had a deep interest in democratic education, presented a report on the founding of the University in Jerusalem. Menachem M. Ussischkin was also active in urging the project. At the Congress, a large sum was suscribed to further the work. Later, a commission of the Actions Committee procured a tract of land on Mount Scopus."

Soon after the Balfour Declaration, the Zionist Commission which proceeded to Palestine made one of its first acts the laying of the cornerstone of the Hebrew University on Mount Scopus. The site occupies a panoramic position, overlooking both the city of Jerusalem and the Jordan valley. The land held by or for the University now exceeds 200 dunams (50 acres). Most of it is registered in the name of the Jewish National Fund.

The University was formally opened by Lord Balfour in 1925. The work was at first confined mainly to research, and the following institutes were established: Jewish Studies, Bio-Chemistry, Micro-Biology, Oriental Studies, Mathematics, and Natural History of Palestine. In 1928 the Faculty of Humanities was organized, in which undergraduate instruction leading to a degree is given. The Faculty consists thus far of the Institute of Jewish Studies, the School of Oriental Studies and the Institute of General Humanities with courses in Philosophy, History and Letters. Degree instruction is also given in the Institute of Mathematics, for which credit may be granted in the Faculty of Humanities. The Division of Biological Studies was established in 1931, where instruction in the Biological Sciences, Biological Chemistry, Botany, Zoology, Protozoology and Bacteriology is given, leading to a degree. The undergraduate instruction is based on a four years' course leading to the degree of *Magister Artium* (M.A.) after examination in one major and two minor subjects. There are about twenty-five scholarships available.

Adequate quarters have been provided for laboratories, lecture halls, and scientific collections. An open air theatre, overlooking the Dead Sea and the Mountains of Moab, seats about twenty-five hundred people. Here concerts are given and celebrations held. One of the most recent additions to the impressive group of University buildings is the David Wolfsohn Hall, opened in 1929, housing the Jewish National and University Library. The library has the most modern equipment of any institution of its kind in the Near East. About a quarter of a million volumes are classified on its shelves. These volumes contain many rare works and valuable manuscripts, including the original of Einstein's Theory of Relativity. Over sixteen hundred scientific and general periodicals are available in its reading room, which is open to the public. The library is the outgrowth of the Jewish National Library founded in Jerusalem in 1892 by the Palestine B'nai Brith and

by a devoted scholar and physician in Bialystok, Dr. Joseph Chazanovich.

The Hebrew University Press publishes *Kiryath Sepher,* a bibliographical quarterly, and *Tarbitz,* a quarterly review of the Humanities. A number of books have also been published.

The staff numbers sixty-one, including nine full Professors and three Associate Professors. About half of the student body is drawn from Palestinian schools, the remainder coming from sixteen different countries. The student body numbered one hundred and eighty-one in 1931-32.

The Hebrew University should become a spiritual centre for the Jewish people, a place of refuge for the Jewish student fleeing from student-prejudice and student-persecution abroad, a safe depository of national literary treasures, and a house of peace to unite the studies and interests, the students and scientists of East and West.

# THE HEBREW LANGUAGE IN PALESTINE

BY JESSIE SAMPTER AND YITZHAK EPSTEIN

## ELIEZER BEN YEHUDAH

Only Hebrew could have unified the Jews from all ends of the world who brought with them to Palestine a multiplicity of languages, and this historic urge was fulfilled through the efforts of one man who realized in his own life the struggle of a people. Eliezer Ben Yehudah was born in Russia in 1858. Before he had reached the age of twenty he had passed through the spiritual adventures of a *Maskil* (non-religious Hebraist) and of a Nihilist. His love of the Hebrew language brought him to Jewish nationalism and as this was strengthened in him, there grew the conviction that the first task was to recreate the Hebrew tongue in the Jewish land. He went to the Sorbonne, in Paris, and while still a student there, in 1879, he began his labors on the Hebrew Dictionary which was to be his life-work. In 1881 he went to Palestine and settled in Jerusalem. There he met the most bitter opposition from the Orthodox Jewish community. In those days in Jerusalem, Hebrew was not spoken. There was a Babel of tongues, chiefly Yiddish among the *Ashkenazim*, and Ladino, a Spanish-Jewish jargon, among the *Sephardim*. Ben Yehudah was not an Orthodox Jew. He was looked upon by these people not only as a fool and a silly dreamer but as a traitor to Judaism. He was excommunicated, but he stayed on, and despite great physical weakness, for he was suffering from lung trouble, his mental strength and his iron will carried him through all adversities. He lived in a cellar with his wife, whom he had married with the understanding that only Hebrew was to be spoken in their home. He became the editor of a Hebrew weekly and he gathered about him a group of enthusiasts. So bitter was the feeling against him that when his first wife died, there was protest against burying her in the Jewish cemetery. At one time he was thrown into prison by the Turkish authorities through the machinations of his Jewish enemies.

As the new Jewish settlement grew up he became the center of the Hebraic movement. Other individuals took upon themselves the same pledge to speak only Hebrew in their households, first among them Dr. Frankl, director of the Laemel School. Gradually Hebrew speaking clubs were formed. But the bulwarks of the Hebrew revival were the children in schools and kindergarten who carried home the language to their parents and so began to make it a mother-tongue.

While the new Hebraic life was growing from seeds he had scattered, Ben Yehudah continued to work steadily on his Hebrew dictionary. His first plan, in his student days, envisioned only a small dictionary for every day use, but scholars seeing his material persuaded him to enlarge it to scientific proportions. Preparation of the material took him 25 years, during which time he visited libraries in Berlin, Rome, Paris, Cambridge, Oxford, London, etc. Volume I appeared in 1910, in Berlin. He had found backers among some of the German Jews who were not Zionists, but who appreciated the scientific value of his labors. Four volumes appeared up to the outbreak of the War. Ben Yehudah then had to leave Palestine and fled to America (1915), where he worked at the Public Library in New York preparing the next volume for the press. Ben Yehudah had left his manuscript in the care of Dr. Glazebrook, American Consul in Jerusalem. A request was sent from Washington to Morgenthau at Constantinople to send the manuscript to America. Morgenthau ordered the "Tennessee" to fetch it, but Dr. Glazebrook refused to deliver it because he could not guarantee its safe passage from Jerusalem to Jaffa. So he kept it until Ben Yehudah's return. It is probable that but for this precaution the manuscript would have been lost.

Ben Yehudah returned to Jerusalem in 1919, and steadily continued his work on the dictionary, until his death December 16, 1922.

Volume VI had not yet been published. Ben Yehudah's widow carried on the work. The Eliezer Ben Yehudah Memorial Trust was founded, and with the help of a committee of scholars, the widow published volumes VI, VII and VIII. Six letters still remain, which will require another five volumes. The Dictionary is in German, French and English, and includes Arabic, Greek and Latin sources. It will have taken 50 years in preparation.

### THE LANGUAGE COMMITTEE—VAAD HALASHON

The *Vaad Halashon,* with Ben Yehudah at its head, was organized to develop the language and insure its purity. The Hebrew school teachers came to this committee with their problems and their suggestions. Often it was children who added new words to the language. These were discussed and standardized by the *Vaad.* New word forms were created from words found throughout Hebrew literature and from those on inscriptions which had been brought to light by excavations in Palestine and neighboring countries. Ben Yehudah lived to see himself in the midst of a Hebrew speaking community.

Since his death the work of the Language Committee has steadily grown. Now David Yellin, teacher and leader, and Chaim Nachman Bialik, world-famed Hebrew poet, are at its head, and a Society of Friends gives part of the financial support. A quarterly is published, *Lesbonenu* (Our Tongue), and sub-committees deal with the linguistic needs of various trades, professions and sciences. For example, at a recent meeting committees were reported working on the following subjects: paints and colors, names of foods and dishes, a terminology for geography, botany, mathematics, music, electricity. Requests had come for terms for Social Service from the Social Service Department of the Jewish Community; for technical terms from a newspaper which has started a column on science and invention; and for the names of degrees to be conferred on students graduating from the Hebrew University.

### HEBREW AS A SECULAR LANGUAGE

Recently the following item appeared in a Palestinian daily: "The Vacuum Oil Company has lately made a novel experiment with its publication in Hebrew of a 48 page guide book for motor-drivers, 'Correct Lubrication for Your Car.' It contains a comprehensive glossary of English technical terms with their Hebrew equivalents. The Hebrew is well written, the material interestingly presented."

Fanatical Orthodoxy opposes the use of Hebrew for daily speech because they hold it too sacred. Another threat against the growth of Hebrew has been Yiddish, considered by Jewish masses in East Europe as the Jewish language. In Palestine, however, it is

the working people who have fought hardest for the revival of Hebrew speech. The two extremes, Orthodox and Communist, are the only ones who now advocate Yiddish as the language of Palestine. And even they are being forced to do so in Hebrew, in order to be understood. Yet as in all conflicts there is extremism and fanaticism also on the Hebrew side. Even the legitimate use of foreign languages has been at times fought with violence by the *Gedud Meginne Hasaffah* (Defenders of the Tongue). Hebrew is so well established now as the language of the Jews of Palestine, recognized by the Government as one of the three official languages, used in school and street, home, shop and marketplace, that even with a much larger immigration than is probable in the near future, it should be able to meet its problems without excommunicating other tongues.

### THE HEBREW PRESS

The Hebrew book promises to be one of the chief articles of Palestinian industry. At present the publications are largely for home consumption. Although becoming an important item for export, several publishing houses, with foreign backing, issue series of Hebrew books, originals and translations, which are frequently sold on a subscription basis. *Dvir, Stiebel, Omanuth* and *Tarbuth* are the best known. The Hebrew reading public, because of its variety of interests, demands more publications than its numbers would justify. Libraries are numerous. Of newspapers and journals published in Palestine, there are one each in Russian, French and Spanish, seven in English, twelve in Arabic, including four dailies and three Christian papers, and thirty-three in Hebrew, of these last three are dailies: *Davar,* labor-socialist, *Ha-aretz,* liberal-progressive, *Doar Hayom,* reactionary. Seven serve labor, including the working youth; three are for children; nine serve various professions and trades; three are purely literary; three Orthodox; one Revisionist. The rest serve special organizations and interests, such as *Leshonenu,* and the *Hadassah News* published in Hebrew.

### YITZHAK EPSTEIN

Among the pioneers of the Hebrew revival, a Hebrew teacher, Yitzhak Epstein, is one of the most interesting and influential.

He came to Palestine from Odessa in 1886, and worked as agricultural laborer in Galilee for four years with the purpose of preparing himself to teach agriculture to Jewish immigrants. But meanwhile he became concerned with the development and teaching of modern Hebrew. In 1891 he began to teach and taught for twelve years, inventing and perfecting his own method of *Ivrith B'Ivrith*, the natural method, stressing the original pronunciation of the Hebrew consonants and gutturals. He helped form the Hebrew speech of the Jews of Galilee. The charm of his personality gave him the gift of leadership. Some years ago he gave up school teaching entirely and devoted himself henceforth to various labors connected with the development of Hebrew speech and teaching. He is active on the Language Committee, he continues to interest himself in the psychology of speech and language, and has become a force in the new Hebraic life of the land. The following article, written by him originally in French for the *Illustration Juive* of Paris, is here reprinted.

## *ISRAEL AND ITS LANGUAGE*

### *A Case in Social Psychopathology*

*Yitzhak Epstein.*

The community and the individual in the matter of language, and particularly in disturbances of speech, show a striking analogy to one another.

In the individual, speech is an index to the state of his health. The nearer he is to normal, the better is his enunciation, the clearer and more concise his manner of expression. Fatigue and diseases of old age reveal themselves in hesitant and confused speech. As the memory for words is less firmly held than that for objects or ideas, it responds earlier to variations in our physiological condition, in which it acts as a highly sensitive barometer. In certain pathological conditions in which memory is affected, the patient loses primarily his memory for words. He has some conception of the ideas that he wishes to express, but cannot lay hold upon the necessary phrases. This condition is known as *verbal amnesia*, transient or chronic according to the gravity of the case. The patient, however, understands perfectly what is said to him and what he reads.

Of all forms of speech, it is spontaneous, voluntary, articulate speech which is the most difficult and which calls for the greatest effort of memory; whereas passive language, heard or read, presents comparatively little difficulty.

The same relation exists between a nation and its language. During a period of liberty and prosperity, the expressive faculty of a people develops and grows keener; whereas political and social decadence is accompanied by a corresponding deterioration in language. A people that has been subjugated and scattered has its collective memory enfeebled; morals, customs, beliefs slowly disappear. But verbal memory, idiom, this alters first and ends by becoming completely obliterated, and the language dies. Such *collective verbal amnesia* usually signals the dissolution of a nation.

An extraordinary example of this kind of amnesia is manifested by the Jewish people. Scattered for more than eighteen centuries, but upheld by its extraordinary vitality, Israel has retained its collective memory. Common characteristics, customs, memories of a long past full of tribulation, above all a humanitarian ideal and an intense faith in a national restoration, seem to be imperishably planted in the breast of the Jewish masses. The moral unity of Israel had always been a striking phenomenon and Israel has often seemed more united in dispersion than in its periods of independence.

Although so long as its collective memory is preserved a nation cannot disappear, it will nevertheless be unable to exist indefinitely without some material tie, without a territory. The Jewish people has created a temporary substitute by making its belief in the return to its ancestral land a religious dogma of equal importance with the most sacred principles of Judaism. It proclaims this Return in its daily prayers, in effect practising auto-suggestion, maintaining its memory by constant repetition. So tenacious a memory, proof of a vast reserve of vital force, must truly justify the many promises, the many prophecies.

This national memory, which has so successfully resisted the destructive effects of time as far as sentiment and ideas are concerned, has not been able to endure in the matter of language, that weak point in our retentive faculty. The first shock to the national organism brings with it disturbances of speech. The first dispersion, the exile to Babylon, brought about a partial verbal amnesia; Hebrew among the masses became corrupted and took

on the form of Aramaic. But the intellectual groups, fighting for national survival and challenging all reverses, clung to the classic idiom and inaugurated a literary era as important as it was fruitful. So it happened that while on the one hand the people forgot more and more of its idiom, the amnesia spreading and deepening, on the other hand the number of people who read and wrote Hebrew continually grew. Moreover, Aramic, which for many centuries took the place of Hebrew, maintained the Semitic spirit of the language among the Jewish people, thus rendering easy the access to the abandoned tongue.

This linguistic anomaly soon reached its most striking form. When this nation, ruined and hunted from place to place, in spreading itself through the Western world lost the last traces of its Hebrew speech, just then the Jewish genius proclaimed in the name of religion the necessity for compulsory instruction in the lost language. That was towards the end of the first Century. Henceforth every Jewish child was to spend his best years in studying the national literature, which became the sole subject of study of the old Jewish school. It claimed, and not without reason, thus to provide the child with the surest foundation for a happy life: an austere morality applied to the smallest details of individual and social life. This Hebraic education, jealously persisted in until the end of the 17th Century, is still maintained among certain Jewish communities in Poland.

Thus for many centuries the vast majority of the people could read and write only in Hebrew. For writing even in the language of their respective countries, in Arabic, Spanish, or German, Jewish authors had to resort to Hebrew characters. The loss of spoken Hebrew concentrated national attention on the two visual aspects of its idiom, on the passive form in reading and on the active form in written composition. Written Hebrew held its place as the vehicle of thought among the educated who wrote everything, correspondence, accounts, legal documents, in the ancient tongue. Neither has literary activity in Hebrew been interrupted. With the varied destiny of the people, Hebrew literature has shown extended periods of revival.

The Jew has thus divided his verbal capacity between two languages. The spoken idiom of his country, more or less modified by the Semitic mentality, served the material needs of everyday life; the ancient tongue, in its visual and graphic form, served the

religious, moral, intellectual, and esthetic sides of life. Hebrew was supreme in synagogue, school, law court, library, and on all the solemn occasions of life.

In its messianic ideal of regeneration, the Jewish people never separated language from land; return to the homeland implied revival of their Hebrew speech. Israel, Zion, and the language of the Bible, these three were to the national mind a compound, the elements of which, though separated by force, must finally be reunited.

These were the reasons why, with the national revival and the first modest beginnings of Jewish colonization in Palestine, there appeared also, instinctively, almost involuntarily, spoken Hebrew. When the Jewish colonist first struck his pick into the ancestral soil, it echoed to the sound of Biblical phrases, and the first stones of the new Hebrew schools were laid at the same moment as the first new furrows were being driven in the plain of Judea.

It was at this moment that there appeared the great Ben Yehudah, the man who gave his energy, his talent, his whole life to the cause of the Hebrew language.

The first beginnings were small. It was a vague, slow, confused language, but a language nevertheless. In affections of speech, when the patient begins to recover, he first uses single words, then short phrases, stopping to seek expressions he frequently cannot find. Verbal memory, like lost health in general, comes back but slowly. There arose the question of adapting to the needs of everyday life an idiom which for centuries had been used solely for abstract ideas.

To these psycho-linguistic difficulties was added that of the practical resistance offered by two powerful sections of Jewry, the pious Jews, jealous of their faith, who saw in this movement a profanation of the sacred tongue, and the assimilating Jews, who hated this Hebrew revival because they feared that it would destroy their efforts at hushing up the very sound of their Judaism.

But the Hebrew language grew side by side with the growth of Jewish colonization. Teachers fought for it with an unwavering perseverance, the kindergartens converted the parents through the children. Opposition had to withdraw in face of such an irresistible movement, indeed was in some measure compelled to retract and follow.

Soon there appeared a new force, the workers, fighting with as

much courage and self-denial for the Hebrew language as for their social ideals. The young zealots turned all their life into Hebrew —work, suffering, soil, and plough; and living as they did in Hebrew, they brought new and invigorating meaning to ancient terms.

Now, after forty years of effort, teaching of all subjects is given in Hebrew in about two hundred and fifty educational institutions, which include several high schools, four teachers' training colleges, the Technical Institute at Haifa, and the University at Jerusalem; and the language has wholly conquered the press, literature, the stage, meetings, games, and every aspect of public life.

We must admit that in many of its aspects Hebrew still needs the improvements of which it is capable, but the first phase of the revival through which it has just passed is full of promise for the future. This period seems to prove that the cure of collective verbal amnesia is subject to the same laws as govern its cure in the individual. In both cases rapid progress is obtained by the method of re-education. Repetition and practice bring back memories which seem completely to have disappeared. As long as the organism survives, memories can be re-awakened, for though they are buried, covered over, kept under by more recent memories, they nevertheless continue to exist and are capable of returning to life when once their release is undertaken. And verbal memories, too, in spite of their delicacy, have the same living quality.

Large stores of Hebrew have accumulated during thousands of years in the hearts of the Jewish people. This national organism has resisted the onslaughts of time, and step by step with its recovery of health these old verbal memories are released and live again.

In the symphony of languages of that new humanity in which peace and reconciliation will reign, there will also be found the ancient tongue in which that humanity was first proclaimed. This unique case of collective verbal amnesia, present for two thousand years and now moving towards recovery, commands the wonder and the attention alike of the linguist, the psychologist, and the sociologist.

# THE GROWTH OF MODERN HEBREW LITERATURE

BY HILLEL BAVLI

Hebrew literature, which never ceased to function in one form or another since its inception, took on a new lease of life during the latter part of the eighteenth century. It became more vigorous, more purposeful, more responsive to its age and environment. It manifested a new attitude toward the many and varied problems facing Jewry and attempted to grapple with them. In the course of time it evolved new forms and modes of expression hitherto unknown or but little known in Hebrew letters, such as the epic and dramatic poem, the essay, the novel and short story. In short, it entered upon a new era.

Figuratively speaking, modern Hebrew literature is a cosmic plant. It took root in Italy and in Germany, it sprouted in Galicia and in Russia, it is blossoming forth nowadays in Palestine and of late is being transplanted also to America.

## MOSES HAYYIM LUZZATTO

In the background of modern Hebrew literature there looms large the solitary figure of the mystic poet-philosopher Moses Hayyim Luzzatto (1707-1747) of Padua, Italy. His *Kabbalistic* writings and wild Messianic vagaries, which subjected him to the persecutions of the official orthodoxy of his time, serve to throw distinction upon his unique personality. The major part of his work belongs to the realm of religious philosophy, but it is his dramatic poetry which made its mark upon modern Hebrew literature. His two chief dramatic poems are, for all their allegorical allusions, complicated love stories rich in imagery, beautiful in diction. They were to exert great influence upon the poetic literature of a later age. In their day, however, they remained obscure and their author appeared like a dim light flickering in the distance.

### THE HASKALAH MOVEMENT (ENLIGHTENMENT)

The primary incentive to the growth of modern Hebrew literature came from the outside world. The spirit of rationalism predominant in eighteenth century Western Europe impressed itself in particular upon the few cultured Hebrew men of letters in Germany. Their illusions led them to believe that once the cultural status of the Jew is raised, his political equality will follow inevitably. Their great love for the Hebrew language became wedded to another great force: the desire to enlighten the Ghetto Jew, to make him a worthy citizen of cultured Europe. A great literary and social movement was thus inaugurated, known as the *Haskalah* Movement. The Movement gained strength and importance by the appearance in 1783 of the German translation of the Pentateuch by the essayist-philosopher Moses Mendelssohn (1729-1786) and the adjoining Hebrew commentary prepared by Mendelssohn with the collaboration of some leading scholars of the day. Aestheticism and exegesis were now joined in the cause of *Haskalah.* Classic Hebrew was soon to serve as a vehicle for the secularization of the Jew. A periodical (*Hameassef*) was established with the avowed purpose of enlightening the Hebrew reader.

With rationalism as the lodestar, the *Haskalah* Movement in Germany turned toward wisdom literature primarily. Fables, Biblical commentaries, grammatical researches were its chief literary products. Even in poetry cold rationalism prevailed. The numerous epic-dramatic poems of the age, chief among them the Biblical epic of N. H. Wessely (1725-1805), "Poems of Glory," are in the main didactic, stiff and colorless. Their importance lies in the rejuvenated Biblical style.

Early in the eighteenth century the new literary movement spread to Galicia, Russia and Lithuania. In Galicia, the center of *Hassidic* fanaticism, it turned boldly toward a criticism of the manners and superstitions of Ghetto life. It employed the merciless weapon of satire to scorn and ridicule the reactionary "pursuers of *Haskalah.*" The satires of Isaac Erter (1792-1851) are the most memorable both for their content and for their flowery Biblical style.

However, the main contribution of Galician *Haskalah* lies in the field of scholarship, in the rising Jewish Science whose main

object was to investigate the Jewish past so as to unfold the true inner forces of Judaism. S. J. Rappoport (1790-1867) did some pioneer work in Jewish historiography, while Nahman Krochmal (1785-1840) delved into the philosophy of Jewish history and presented in his monumental "Guide for the Perplexed of the Age" a system of thought based upon reason and pure faith.

The cause of *Haskalah* was promoted in Russia by the scholarly I. B. Levinsohn (1788-1860). In works combining erudition with popular style, he traced the history of Judaism, emphasizing particularly that *Haskalah* was in no way incompatible with Jewish traditions. *Haskalah,* in his view, conveyed not merely the introduction of secular knowledge, but also the gradual shifting of the economic and social standards of Ghetto life by means of a rising respect for productive manual labor and, particularly, for agricultural occupations.

The scholarly works of M. Leffin (1749-1826), couched in lucid, picturesque style, and the polished essays and autobiographical sketches of M. A. Gintzburg (1795-1846) injected new vigor into Hebrew literature and lent resilience and grace to its prose.

One of the most representative figures of the *Haskalah* movement in its early stages is the poet Adam Lebensohn (1794-1878), a native of Lithuania. His solemn, ponderous poetry is, at its best, a hymn to the universal spirit of mankind united by misery and adversity in its struggle against nature. It is likewise a panegyric to "heavenly *Haskalah*" and a tribute of love to the "language beautiful, the one and only Hebrew tongue."

### S. D. LUZZATTO

In marked contrast to the rationalistic trend of the period stands the romantic personality of the versatile scholar S. D. Luzzatto of Italy (1800-1865). In his works he dwelt upon the need for a deeper and clearer appreciation of the inner values of Judaism. He called for a reawakening of religious enthusiasm, for simplicity of faith and moral regeneration and, above all, for the rebirth of the Jewish national spirit. His work is a challenge to his age and a peep into the future. But his voice was like a voice in the wilderness.

### INFLUENCE OF THE BIBLE

That the rising new literature did not entirely wither in the icy regions of rationalism is due primarily to the perennial source from which it drew much of its inspiration and vitality, namely, the Bible.

At its very inception the *Haskalah* literature had sought to recapture something of the spirit of the Bible, so as to raise the aesthetic level of the Hebrew reader. In trying to redeem the human side of the Bible long neglected by the Ghetto Jew, the *Haskalah* literature redeemed itself. It became tinged with a mark of beauty, albeit an ancient beauty, and astir with visions and characters of the past which lent a touch of grandeur to its otherwise sombre features.

The spirit of beauty emanating from the Bible reechoed in the blank verse of the gifted young poet S. Levisohn (1789-1821), a native of Hungary. It found most eloquent expression in the works of another young bard, Micah Joseph Levensohn (1828-1852). His soft melancholic lyrics and particularly his Biblical epics made a lasting impression upon Hebrew literature by their colorful, melodious expression and more so by the glow of dying youth palpable in all of them.

The return to the Bible inevitably implied the return to the land of the Bible as center of interest. No one was more effective in reclaiming Palestine and the Bible as potent forces in modern Hebrew literature than Abraham Mapu (1808-1867).

### ABRAHAM MAPU—HEBREW NOVELIST

This humble denizen of Lithuania, amidst the squalor and darkness of Ghetto life during the despotic reign of Nicholas I, projected a vision of a vigorous Jewish life rooted in the soil of ancient Palestine. His two historical works, "The Love of Zion" and "The Guilt of Samaria," the first novels in modern Hebrew literature, are fast moving love stories rich in intrigue and adventure. They are peopled by priests and prophets, warriors and men of peace, gaudy aristocrats and simple country folk. In part they are prose poems, hymns of love to Zion and to simple idyllic peasant life, written in rich, decorative Biblical style combining dignity with charm. They thrilled the Hebrew reader, inspiring

him with a new vision which was to bear fruit at a later period in the form of the *Hibbat Zion* Movement.

### THE REFORM MOVEMENT

The flare of romanticism, however, did not last long. Hebrew literature was soon to face reality and to lead the battle for a thorough revision of standards and values in Jewish life. Change of political conditions in Russia for the better, and the crystallization of the Reform Movement in Germany, added new zeal to the champions of *Haskalah*. The years 1860-1880 mark the triumphant stage of the *Haskalah* Movement. The rising new Hebrew weeklies imbued many with the spirit of *Haskalah* while the numerous works on history and natural sciences, both original and in translation, disseminated knowledge far and wide. Hebrew literature became critical of itself. Literary criticism rose to the fore. The impetuous A. A. Kovner boldly defied the romantic trend in Hebrew literature and ridiculed the embellished Biblical style, calling for greater truthfulness to life and for simplicity of expression. Another critic, A. Papirno, furthered the cause of aestheticism. Hebrew literature became the bugle-call for a new order in Jewish life, for greater freedom of thought and action. Ghetto life was exposed to bitter criticism from all its quarters. The very citadel of Talmudic traditions and Rabbinic authority became subject to attack. The ideal of reform both social and religious, though limited in scope, dominated Hebrew literature, its poetry and prose. "Be thou a man abroad and a Jew at home" became the slogan of the age.

### JUDAH LOEB GORDON

The outstanding literary figure of that critical period is the poet Judah Loeb Gordon (1830-1892), who gave shape and form to the ideals of an entire age.

A resident of Wilno, he came at an early age under the influence of the *Maskilim* (bearers of *Haskalah*) of his native city. His early writings are full of the glow of the romantic spirit of his contemporaries, Mapu and Micah Joseph Lebensohn. Occasionally they are idyllic in character such as the beautiful poem, "David and Barzillai." Gordon, however, was no mere romanticist by nature, much less a weaver of calm idyllic life. His first truly great poem, "In The Lion's Teeth," constitutes a remarkable com-

bination of lyric, epic and dramatic elements, all of which serve to create a soul-stirring impression of the agony of Judea losing its independence and the tragic heroism of one of its defenders. Historical as this poem is in character, it is equally symptomatic of the rising new hero, the poet himself, who is to lead the battle for the regeneration of his people. Gordon was soon to become the spokesman for a more enlightened and vigorous form of Jewish life, a life of work and accomplishment cognizant of reality. In a series of new epics he portrays in bold and striking manner the tragedies of Jewish life due not so much to outward uncontrollable circumstances as to ignorance, to stifling traditions and to the shortsightedness of Jewish leaders. He is ironic, scornful and contemptuous even while stringing the narrative and drawing the outlines of his heroes. In his most celebrated epic, "The Tittle of a Yod," Gordon appears as the champion of the Jewish woman. He assumes the dual rôle of prosecutor and attorney for the defence. He is both forceful and pathetic, full of rebukes and caresses.

Although Gordon was the most gifted literary figure of the age, he was not a lone warrior in the struggle for the spiritual emancipation of the Ghetto Jew. There was the erudite and plain-spoken M. L. Lilienblum (1843-1910), who exerted great influence by his scholarly thought-provoking articles and particularly by his intimate autobiography, "Sins of Youth," in which he described his own transition from Ghetto obscurantism to the light of *Haskalah*. There were, among many others, the novelist Peretz Smolenskin (1842-1885) and R. Brodes (1851-1902) who depicted, each in his own way, the misery and backwardness of Jewish life in the Diaspora and glorified the torchbearers of enlightenment.

### HEBREW RENASCENCE IN JEWISH NATIONALISM

The entire edifice of the *Haskalah* movement was soon to crumble. The current of assimilation that threatened to engulf the *Haskalah*-mad Russian Jewish youth slowly but surely cooled the ardor of the protagonists of the movement. Smolenskin was among the first to start the great retreat from the time-honored ideals of *Haskalah,* and to affirm in their stead the nationhood of the Jewish people and the unique character of its culture. The monthly

"*Hashahar*," established by Smolenskin, became the battleground for the Jewish national restoration and for the revival of Hebrew culture. Jewish tradition, long the butt of the *Maskilim*, was vigorously defended and presented in new light by J. M. Piness (1844-1913).

Gradually a new ideal was brought to the fore: the complete revival of the Hebrew tongue, not merely as a literary vehicle, but also as a medium of oral expression. The revival of Hebrew and its adjustment to daily use became the very touchstone and symbol of Hebrew Renascence.

The leading exponent of this ideal, who earned for himself the name of "The Father of Modern Spoken Hebrew," was Eliezer Ben-Yehudah (1858-1922). With unusual tenacity, with a fervor that bordered upon religious ecstasy, this remarkable man advocated the cause of spoken Hebrew, dedicating to it a life time. Early in the eighties he settled in Palestine, where he introduced Hebrew in his own home, much to the bewilderment of the pious who considered Hebrew too holy to be profaned by daily use, and to the astonishment of even the *Maskilim*, who regarded Hebrew merely as a literary language. In order to adapt Hebrew to daily use and to make it thoroughly modern, Ben Yehudah ransacked the storehouses of Hebrew philology, giving new meanings to old words and expressions, and coined innumerable new words which became current in Hebrew as time went on. His numerous innovations were included in his "Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Hebrew Language."

Thus the tide of *Haskalah* was turned. The *Hibbat Zion* movement took its place. Hebrew literature was astir with the twitterings of the new "Singers of Zion." The poets M. M. Dolitzky, M. Z. Mane, K. Shapiro, N. H. Imber, who wrote *Hatikvah*, sang of a new hope, of a new dream. Utopia was in the air ("The Song of the Nightingale" by B. Ben-Yogli and "A Trip to Palestine in 5800" by E. L. Levinsky). A new page was turned in Hebrew literature, a new deal given to the Jewish people, a new interpretation to Jewish history.

### AHAD HA-AM

The new ideals and attitudes characterizing Hebrew literature were given shape and form and molded into a well-balanced system

of thought by the essayist-philosopher Ahad Ha-am—Asher Ginsberg (1856-1927). (Died in Tel Aviv, where his home has been made into a Memorial Library.—Ed.)

In his first celebrated article, "This is not the Way," Ahad Ha-am warns against the imminent dangers confronting the *Hibbat Zion* movement due to the fact that the leaders of the movement did not imbue its adherents with the spirit of the national ideal. For no national movement can succeed unless it be preceded by a deep-seated consciousness on the part of its followers such as would place the national above the individual good. Hence before *Hibbat Zion* could make any material progress, its adherents must be "spiritually concentrated in Zion." * Spiritual regeneration is the first step leading toward national salvation.

This idea Ahad Ha-am emphasized again and again in many of his essays. In his painstaking analysis of Jewish spiritual life, Ahad Ha-am does not hesitate to point out our characteristic weaknesses as a people and to explode some notions we hold about ourselves. Our main weakness, Ahad Ha-am argues, is that we are merely a People of the Book, not a literary people. We have become slaves of the Book. Our literature no longer functions in our life. It is like so much dead weight. Not that we lost our creative power. Had this been the case, there would have been no hope for us. But we are disintegrating as a people. The best of us is given to the outside world and whatever we create is perceptibly marked by foreign influence.

How can we ever get out of this state? How can we preserve our national entity? By a spiritual regeneration, Ahad Ha-am replies, by a revival of Hebrew literature, by the complete Hebraization of Jewish education, by an elucidation of Jewish ethical teachings, by the supremacy of the prophetic ideals. Jewish life in the Diaspora is not to be neglected by any means. However, the goal of all our endeavor is to be Palestine. Palestine is the bond that will keep us intact as a people and will preserve our national individuality. The ultimate ideal of a Jewish commonwealth in Palestine is paramount. Jewish life in Palestine is to be complete in all its phases. But to those of us who are in the Diaspora, Palestine will inevitably become a Spiritual Center, since it will serve as the mainstay of our spiritual existence and will mold our national ego.

* A term used by Ahad Ha-am in another of his essays.

These are some of the leading ideas that Ahad Ha-am expounded with such lucidity of thought and penetrating style that he became a tower of strength to the Jewish national movement and the pride of Hebrew literature.

### M. J. BERDICHEVSKY

Ahad Ha-am's views aroused widespread enthusiasm as well as opposition. The realists considered them too unpractical, while the sceptics doubted the very possibility of a national revival, and like the hero of Feierberg's (1874-1899) biographical novel "Whither," were lost in a maze of inner conflicts. However, the most vociferous opponents of Ahad Ha-am were a group of young artists who regarded his ultranationalist views as limited in scope and harmful to the natural growth of Hebrew literature. By far the most outstanding opponent of Ahad Ha-am was M. J. Berdichevsky (1865-1922). His essays bristle with rebellion against the stifling influence of tradition. He aligns himself with those bold spirits who, in the past, challenged the super-spiritual ideals of prophetic and Rabbinic Judaism. An artist primarily, he advocates the supremacy of the individual. He glorifies the beauty of primitive life, life attached to the soil and liberated from pernicious bookish influences. His manifold tales, short stories and novels portray the mad blind joy of sensuous every-day life experienced by simple Ghetto folk in spite of their environment, or else the futile struggle for such a life on the part of bewildered intellectuals.

### MENDELE MOCHER SEFORIM AND DAVID FRISHMAN

At the very period that Ahad Ha-am was delivering his message of national revival, Hebrew literature was placed on a high level of artistic accomplishment by various masters. It gained new strength and beauty by the works of the supreme artist, the unrivalled word-painter, Mendele Mocher Seforim (1836-1916). In a series of stories strikingly original, he portrayed Jewish life in the Diaspora with a completeness of detail that is well nigh exhaustive and with an unfailing eye for delineation of character and description of nature. The spirit of beauty and artistic endeavor gained further accession through the exquisite writings

of David Frishman (1865-1923), charming balladist, polished essayist, brilliant literary critic and purveyor of European standards of literary taste. His translations from the works of Shakespeare and Byron, Goethe and Heine, Eliot and Wilde, Nietzsche and Tagore are all milestones on his devious road in quest for beauty.

### I. L. PERETZ AND JUDAH STEINBERG

The reservoir of Jewish folklore, notably of *Hassidism* with its positive bright attitude towards life, offered new sources of inspiration. The poets of *Hassidism,* chief among them I. L. Peretz (1854-1915) and Judah Steinberg (1863-1908), lent new color to Hebrew literature. They put into an artistic frame old forms of life, life triumphant, full of ecstasy and faith, brimming with sheer joy of existence.

### H. N. BIALIK

The spirit of revival permeating Hebrew literature found nowhere such glowing expression as in the domain of poetry. The end of the nineteenth and the early part of the twentieth century witnessed such a rise, a veritable tide, of poetic talent in Hebrew, that before long, poetry became the crowning glory of Hebrew literature.

At the head of this poetic literature, its mainstay and leading light, is H. N. Bialik. (Now living in Tel Aviv and a leader in cultural affairs. Ed.) His poetry is an expression of an extremely rich personality whose personal emotions often reflect the soul-stirring emotions of an entire nation. It rings like a great confession, as good poetry always does, and its appeal to the heart of its readers is immediate. In it the individual and national forces are fused into one harmonious whole.

There is much of the tragic in the poetic personality of Bialik. His is the double tragedy of the Jew who would be a lover of nature, observing its quiet budding life, but is driven to sit in darkness and be detached from the soil, knowing that he is a mere stranger on God's earth, a sojourner among nations. The clash between dream and reality, the inner struggle between the carefree, exuberant life-loving poet and the grim-faced, woe-ridden Ghetto Jew, was instrumental in producing some of the finest lyrics of Bialik. Alongside his joyous ecstatic hymns to

nature, we find his gloomy dirges over the fate of his martyred people. His full-throated poems about the loveliness of the earth and the ever-changing beauty of a mystic "Lake" are matched by his impassioned invocations of the spirits of a great past and the glowing tribute to the never-fading beauty of the ascetic *Mathmid* (perennial student) within the four paces of the *Beth-Hamidrash* (House of Study).

Past and present seem to speak through the poetry of Bialik. We marvel at the sad beauty of the soul of a people unlocking itself and are led into the darkest chambers of agony, witnessing the great massacre in "The City of Slaughter" in Kishinev. We are thrown into a tempest of mad fury at the sight of the apathetic attitude of Ghetto Jewry toward its salvation, and we are awe-inspired by the great vision unfolded before us in the marvelous epic, "The Dead of the Wilderness," symbolizing the awakening of the Jewish people and its rebellion against destiny in a struggle for national liberation.

The effect of Bialik's poetry as a whole is orchestral. One perceives in it vigor and tenderness, the clashing of cymbals as well as the soft sweet tunes of the violin. It is rich in tone and in undertone, reechoing in the heart of the reader. It has long since become one of the priceless possessions of modern Hebrew literature.

### SAUL TCHERNIHOVSKY

While Bialik was enthralling his readers by his magnificent lyrics, a poet of an entirely different calibre, Saul Tchernihovsky, made his appearance. Born in Crimea far from all centers of Jewish learning, he received an entirely secular education. In his writings from the very start, he betrayed none of the traits of the Ghetto Jew, none of the tragic conflicts of the Jewish intellectual. He saw himself at home everywhere, a true child of nature, a citizen of the world. His poetry may be likened to a rushing waterfall illuminated by the diverse colors of a sunlit rainbow. The sympathies of the poet are world-wide, his outlook universal. He instinctively broke the traditional barriers set between Jew and Greek. He recognized none of the forbidding theories bequeathed to his people by centuries of Ghetto life. He identified himself with the bold conquerors of Canaan, with the lusty Baal-worshippers of old. Worship of beauty in whatever form, manly

vigor, unconquerable will to do and to accomplish, these are the main characteristics of his poetic personality.

The broad culture of the poet and his inquisitive mind have helped to widen the scope of his poetry and to heighten its artistic merits. His sonnet-sequences, for instance, bear the imprints of an accomplished artist. In his quest for beauty Tchernihovsky transplanted some of the choicest products of world culture into Hebrew. He is the translator of Homer, of Sophocles and Anacreon, of the ancient Babylonian epic, "Gilgamesh," of the Finnish epic, "Kalevala," of Longfellow's "Evangeline" and "Hiawatha," and of numerous other masterpieces.

The screech of a proud eagle, thus the poet characterized his own poetry. So it is, powerful, majestic. It did much to hearten and to embolden the Hebrew reader by showing him what a modern gifted Jew is like in reality.

### OTHER POETS

A poet of striking individuality is Z. Shneour. His poetry is the expression of exuberant, self-conscious youth. It is an utter defiance of all glorified conventions and an exaltation of the individual unhampered by tradition. It is mighty in conception and rich in fancy, rising to the very heights, as in the epic of the Swiss Alps, and delving into the depths of nature and of the human heart, as in the trilogy, "Poems of Destiny." The mark of a powerful creative personality is stamped upon all of it.

Another group of young poets made its appearance at the turn of the century, to wit: Jacob Cahan, Jacob Fichman, Jacob Steinberg, I. Katzenelson and David Shimonovitz. Some of them have since made notable contributions to Hebrew literature.

### PROSE WRITERS

Hebrew literature was rising to heights it had not attained in many centuries. In each of the various branches of literature there was a distinct advance and a rich outpouring of talent. The reflective analytical stories of Judah Steinberg, the realistic sketches of Ben-Avigdor, the vivid portrayals of child life of S. Ben-Zion, all present different sidelights of the panorama of Jewish life. The

struggle and inner conflicts of the rising Jewish intelligentsia are powerfully described in the novels of J. Bershadsky, and the decaying old Ghetto life is laid bare in all its misery and abject ghastliness by J. H. Brenner, a novelist of deep human sympathies and broad understanding. The inner life of a self-centered individual is revealed in a variety of chiselled descriptions by the elegiac A. N. Gnessin. The idyllic as well as the tragic sides of the small town are preserved in the short stories of I. D. Berkowitz. The latter has, in addition to his original short stories and plays, contributed to Hebrew literature his translations from the works of the great Yiddish humorist Shalom Aleichem. The deeply human short stories of G. Shoffmann are among the finest products of modern Hebrew prose.

The Hebrew essay, so ably represented by such diverse artists as Ahad Ha-am and Frishman, widened in range as time went on. It comprises the brilliant character-portraits and travel descriptions of the expansive many-sided Nahum Sokolow, the lucid historical disquisitions of S. Bernfield, the critical discourses of R. Brainin and the informative studies of Joseph Klausner and F. Lachover. In addition to these there are the lyrical æsthetic literary appreciations of Jacob Fichman and the penetrating philosophical essays of Jacob Klatzkin.

### AFTER THE WORLD WAR

Thus as the century progressed Hebrew literature was growing in strength and influence. The World War, however, changed the outlook of Hebrew literature considerably. After the close of the War, Warsaw and Berlin became for a time centers of great literary activity, owing partly to the munificence of A. J. Stiebel. A vast number of translations from the world's classics, both ancient and modern, appeared in Hebrew immediately after the War. Nor was there a dearth of original work. The twenty-seven volumes of the quarterly *Hatkufah,* the first of which appeared in Moscow in 1918, are vivid testimony to the growing productivity of Hebrew literature in recent years. Soon, however, the great literary centers of Europe dwindled away, only remnants of them existing in Warsaw, Berlin and elsewhere. Palestine gradually became the nerve-center of Hebrew literature.

### HEBREW LITERATURE IN AMERICA

Of late America, too, has become an important outpost in the field of Hebrew literature.

The background for Hebrew literary activity in America was laid in the last decades of the nineteenth century. The numerous Hebrew literary periodicals that have appeared in America intermittently since 1871 testify to the tenacious efforts made by the immigrant *Maskilim* to secure a foothold for Hebrew literature in America.

The poets, M. M. Dolitzki and N. H. Imber, whose reputations were established in Europe, the satirist, G. Rosenzweig, the publicist, N. Shorr, the essayist, G. Zelikowitz, the lexicographer, E. H. Rosenberg, the anthologist, I. D. Eisenstein, editor of the Hebrew Encyclopedia "*Otzar Yisrael*," Israel Davidson, scholar in the field of mediæval Hebrew poetry, and M. Goldman, editor of "*Haleom*" and "*Hayom*"— these are some of the pioneers of Hebrew literature in America.

Little progress, however, was made in the field of creative Hebrew literature in America till quite recently. The bi-weekly "*Shibolim*," edited by M. Ben-Eliezer in 1909, the weekly "*Hadror*,' edited by Reuben Brainin somewhat later, and the monthly "*Hatoren*," edited by a group of young writers, brought to the fore a number of poets and publicists, erstwhile immigrants, who raised the status of Hebrew literature in America. Among these "newcomers," who stood at the cradle of modern Hebrew literature in America, are to be mentioned the poets A. Domnitz, S. Ginsburg, E. E. Lisitzky, B. N. Silkiner, A. S. Shwartz, and the essayists-publicists I. Z. Frishberg, M. Lipson, A. Goldberg, M. Halevi, D. Persky, M. Z. Raisin and M. Waxman.

Since the War, Hebrew literature in America has made rapid strides. Its ranks were augmented by the arrival of veteran forces from abroad. The weekly "*Hatoren*" and the monthly "*Miklat*," edited by Berkowitz, the daily and afterwards weekly "*Hadoar*," edited by M. Lipson and M. Ribalow respectively, did much to stimulate Hebrew literary activity in America.

Hebrew literature in America is as yet in a period of unfolding. It has, however, already made some definite contributions in the various domains of literary expression.

The contribution has been especially notable in the field of

poetry. The serene poems of B. N. Silkiner, in particular his epic of the Red Man's fate in America, the sweet lyrics of Israel Efros, the soulful, introspective poems of S. Halkin, the colorful, imagist poetry of A. Regelson; the poems of S. Ginsburg and E. E. Lisitzky, of M. Feinstein, A. S. Shwartz, I. Silberschlag and B. Katzenelson are all among the fruits of the Hebrew muse in America.

In prose, too, considerable gains have been made. The field of the short story and the novel accounts for works by A. S. Blank, S. Halkin and A. Soyer. In a class by themselves are the short stories and plays of I. D. Berkowitz revealing sidelights of Jewish life in America. The essay in its various forms has its numerous exponents; among them are, besides those mentioned above, S. Bernstein, A. Epstein, S. B. Maximon, A. R. Malachi, J. Raisin, M. Ribalow, I. Rivkind, S. Rosenfield, J. Ovsay, Ch. Tchernowitz, N. Tourov, J. Twersky, and I. I. Wohl. Works by Ben-Zion Halper (1884-1924), H. Malter (1867-1925), and David Neumark (1866-1924), by Israel Davidson, Jekuthiel Ginsburg, Louis Ginzberg and Caspar Levias are among the products of Hebrew scholarship in America.

Hebrew literature in America, if one may venture an abstraction, is as yet half-dormant, not fully conscious of its powers, but even in its present state it is an important factor in the making of modern Hebrew literature.

### HEBREW LITERATURE IN PALESTINE

The vision of *Eretz Israel* has been one of the potent forces of modern Hebrew literature; the love of Zion inspired much of its poetry and prose. It is only recently, however, that Palestine began to function, not merely as a source of inspiration for the Diaspora, but as the leading center of Hebrew literary activity.

At the beginning of the present century, Palestine had little to offer in the field of secular Hebrew literature. The last decades of the nineteenth century constitute in a way a period of preparation and cultivation of the long neglected Palestinian soil for the literary crop to come. Those were days of storm and stress noted largely for the valiant efforts of E. Ben Yehudah, who was aided by J. M. Pines referred to above, to revive Hebrew as a spoken tongue in defiance of cold logic and of the tumultuous protestations of the orthodox in Jerusalem.

The scholarly works on the geography and history of Palestine by J. Shwartz (1804-1865), the researches in the same field of A. M. Luncz (1854-1918) and the travel descriptions of J. Sapir (1822-1885) are like solitary posts on a deserted road. Of pure literary endeavor there was little except for the sheaf of poems, "Barkai," issued by Imber in 1886, extolling the Jewish settlers in Palestine, and the meagre descriptions of the rising new life displayed in the few stories of J. Barzilai (1855-1918), and in the festive tales of Z. Jawitz (1847-1924).

During the decade preceding the World War, there was marked progress in Hebrew literary activity in Palestine. The growing *Yishub* gradually became articulate. The new life springing from the soil of Palestine was described with great solemnity in the fascinating stories and novels of M. Smilansky. The same author depicted sympathetically the primitive every day life of the Arabs in his Oriental short stories, "Children of Arabia." The first thrills experienced by a young worker on the fields of Palestine were glowingly described by M. Wilkanski.

The labor weekly "*Hapoel Hatzair*," established in 1906, became the rallying point for many a gifted young writer coming from the Diaspora. In its columns various problems affecting the new *Yishub* were discussed, and the ideal of Jewish labor was heralded by such able publicists as J. Aaronowitz, editor of the weekly, R. Benjamin, Jacob Rabinowitz, and A. Zioni.

With this weekly are also associated two illustrious personalities whose names shine bright in Hebrew literature and in the annals of modern *Eretz Israel:* A. D. Gordon (1856-1922) and J. H. Brenner (1881-1921).

### A. D. GORDON

In discussing A. D. Gordon, one hesitates to designate him as a mere man of letters. To him literature and all cultural and creative activity is of value only in so far as it is a by-product of life itself resulting from constant communion with nature. His writings indeed cannot be conceived except as by-products emanating from the happy contact of a rich personality with the soil of Palestine.

Coming to Palestine in 1904, at the age of 48, he dedicated himself wholeheartedly to a life of work, of modest manual labor

in the fields of Palestine. In the spare hours he wrote those massive, intricate articles and "open letters" of his, constituting the five volumes of his works, in which he proclaimed the ideal of labor, ever deepening its meaning and stressing its importance.

Gordon saw the main weakness and inadequacy of the Zionist movement in that it did not spring from the soil of Palestine proper. In order to make the national movement effective, "the ideal of redemption and revival is to be planted in its natural soil," in the center of life. The contact with the soil of Palestine will arouse, as nothing else will, the creative powers of the Jewish people.

"Only by a great human universal ideal" could the Jewish people be revived and held together. The ideal of "Spiritual Revival" advocated by Ahad Ha-am is ineffective as a means to national rehabilitation, since spiritual revival in itself is merely a result of certain prevailing conditions, but not a cause creating the desired conditions. The great force with which to uplift the national movement is the ideal of labor, of life in nature. This ideal will serve as "a lever of our great national task" and as an incentive to national stability. Moreover, Gordon declares, the saving influence of labor is essential to us, not merely as a force whereby we may become attached to the soil, but also as the source and mainspring of a truly national culture, for the basis and mainstay of all culture is labor.

The high-mindedness of Gordon, the moral stamp of his personality, his unusual devotion to the ideal he proclaimed demonstrated by his life of labor, all these factors made him one of the most luminous and influential figures of modern Palestine. He became the high priest of the "religion of labor" which he preached. Nothing could characterize him better than the simple epitaph upon his grave in Degania: "Gordon, the servant of man and nature."

### J. H. BRENNER

A personality of different dimensions is J. H. Brenner. He represents an active, restless soul at odds with the world and with himself, ever probing into the meaning of things in search of the road where truth lies. His first volume of short stories describes the sufferings of the meek and lowly, the poor unfortunates of the world, while his second volume, "Winter Time," is autobio-

graphical, portraying the agony of his own young life. Even so, in all his writings, Brenner is constantly performing this dual task: revealing his own wounds and spiritual maladies and the wounds and agonies of others. His trail of suffering leads from Russia to Galicia, to England and to Palestine.

Coming to Palestine in 1909, he became engaged in feverish literary activity, writing stories and publicistic articles, translating Hauptmann and Dostoevsky and editing one periodical after another. No event, literary or social, escaped his eye and his trenchant pen. He laid bare in his stories whatever he saw of the vulgar and decadent in Palestine and led us at the same time into the recesses of his own self, the soul-torn, truth-seeking, life-scorning yet life-loving hero of his works. His publicistic writings are pointed weapons in his life-long battle for the supremacy of prophetic truth as the guiding principle in life and in literature. They are equally stirring appeals for a life of labor and accomplishment on the soil of Palestine.

His tragic death at the hands of Arabs during the riots of 1921 made a void in the ranks of Hebrew literature.

### HEBREW POETRY IN PALESTINE

Since the end of the War Palestine has become the leading center of Hebrew literature. In its midst are the acknowledged masters of Hebrew poetry and prose, as well as many rising young talents.

The literature produced in Palestine is both of a local and a universal character. It reflects on the one hand the spirit of the immediate environment portraying the growing new life on the ancestral soil, and on the other hand it deals with all those varied manifestations of life not necessarily related to Palestine.

The spirit of modern Palestine is nowhere more beautifully expressed than in its poetry. A group of poets, each singing his own self, have jointly become the mouthpiece of a land rising from its ruins, of its toilers and builders, its martyrs and dreamers.

The weird beauty of the Palestinian landscape has inspired some of the finest lyrics and sonnets of Jacob Fichman. He is past-master in the art of expressing "the still sad music of humanity," conjured in tender tones and half-tones the spirit of silent nature, lending life and color to the rocks and hills, to desolate

ruins and forsaken mountain-passes. Even Ruth, of whom Fichman sings in his dramatic poem "Ruth," comes to life again. The covenant she makes with the soil of Palestine, her adopted land, is the covenant the poet makes with his new found love, with *Eretz Israel.*

The Jewish life of modern Palestine is registered in a series of idylls of David Shimonovitz. We see Palestine in the making. We see the *Halutzim* of many lands and climes borne on the wings of religious ecstasy on their way to Palestine and we observe them in the communes and settlements of Palestine building a new life, creating a new vision through work and self-denial. We listen to the wailings of the old Yemenite Jew as he rises for prayer, we go on a vacation with the black-eyed Yemenite youngsters, we frolic with them in the fields, absorbing their enchanting tales and homilies, and we join the lone poet-traveller who goes tramping through the malaria-infested swamps of Hedera to the tune of a Biblical passage. We become part of man and nature and are woven inextricably in the radiant net of the many-sided life of a rejuvenated country.

The note of self-sacrifice, of joy in suffering for Palestine's sake, is struck in the prayerful chants of Judah Karni, in many of the lyrics of M. Temkin and M. Z. Wolfovsky. The spirit of a beautiful soul wholly dedicated to the worship of Palestine emanates from the tragic strains of the poetess Rachel who died recently in the prime of life. Her poems are like young twigs which she planted lovingly in the soil of Palestine while the harvest sickle was singing nearby.

The stormy tides of activity engulfing Palestine in the post-War period found repercussion in the dashing free verse of many young poets. Of these the most characteristic is Uri Zwi Greenberg. His rushing tempestuous lines, so often in the manner of Whitman, are like beating drums on parade in the front of an army of barefooted *Halutzim.* Spurning a treacherous world that haunted and persecuted him, he predicts the coming of a new Messianic age and projects the "vision royal" of complete restoration. His poetry, often declamatory and defective in form, is in tune with the temper of the tumultuous days during which it was produced.

Among the other poets of Palestine are Avigdor Hameiri, J. Lichtenbaum, A. Shlunsky and I. Lamdan. The latter is the author of "Massadah," a poetic work of considerable merit. In it is

reechoed the religious fervor that animates the builders of Palestine who, like the defenders of the ancient Judean fortress Massadah, would not surrender in defiance of all consequences.

### HEBREW FICTION IN PALESTINE

The cross-currents of life in Palestine are evident also in much of the Hebrew prose produced in Palestine. The old quarters of patriarchal Jerusalem reared on memories and hallowed traditions, and the intruding effects of modern life upon them are pictured in the novels of Dov Kimchi and A. Reuveni. The native Sephardic Jews, both young and old, their manners and characteristics, are described in the entertaining short stories and novels of Judah Burla, himself a Sephardi. The various aspects of life on a farm, in the old colonies of the Schfelah, in the new settlements and *Kvutzoth* in the *Emek* or in the remotest corners of Upper Galilee, are reflected in the numerous short stories and novels of N. Bistritzky, Jacob Rabinowitz and S. Zemach and in the prose epics of Ever Hadani. Much as these works vary in literary merit, they have one thing in common; the light of faith enkindled by the creative forces of modern Palestine burns bright in all of them.

Since many of the authors residing in Palestine are recent arrivals in the country, it is but natural that the background of much of their creative work should be laid in countries other than Palestine. And indeed the finest prose works produced in Palestine reflect life in the Diaspora.

The quaint, masterly stories of S. J. Agnon, with Galicia as background, are portrayals of traditional Jewish life untrammeled by modern influences. They are like gorgeous paintings set in a frame of rich mosaic style. Out of them love and adoration flow in abundance for a vanishing old life. Country life in Galicia is charmingly described with keen observation, with a good measure of humor and grace in the idyllic short stories of Asher Barash. The stories of Deborah Baron, M. Ben-Eliezer and Jacob Rabinowitz portray small town life in Lithuania; the beautiful stories and descriptions of M. Secco have as their background the *Hassidic* communities of Ukraine. The gifted poet and short story writer, Avigdor Hameiri, described the horrors of the Great War in a series of moving stories, the most noted of them being "The Great Madness." In a class by itself is the trilogy by A. A. Kaback,

"Shlomo Molcho," an historical novel centered around the great figure of the Messianic visionary of the sixteenth century.

Of the other short story writers and novelists residing in Palestine, mention should be made of the versatile patriarchs, A. Z. Rabinowitz and Mordecai Ben-Hillel, of Ben-Zion, J. Churgin, J. Horowitz, M. Posnansky and E. Steinman.

### ESSAYS, TRANSLATIONS, JOURNALISM AND SCHOLARSHIP

The number of essayists in Palestine is legion. Among them are: The above-mentioned Fichman, Klausner, and Lachower, the entertaining R. Benjamin, the scholarly A. Druyanow and A. M. Lifshitz, the master of causerie Jacob Rabinowitz, and caustic E. Steinman and the penetrating, mystic Jacob Steinberg.

On the borderland of the essay are the publicistic writings of M. Beilinson, D. Ben-Gurion, J. Ben-Zwi, M. Glickson, B. Katznelson and J. Lufban.

In the field of scholarship numerous important works appeared recently, among them the histories of Hebrew literature by Joseph Klausner and F. Lachower and the great philosophic study of the Jewish past by Ezekiel Kaufman.

The three dailies, the numerous weeklies and periodicals are the channels through which much of the literature of Palestine keeps flowing.

As a by-product of literary activity is to be mentioned the enormous number of translations from European and American literatures that appeared in Palestine within the last decade.

Hebrew literature in Palestine is not limited to one field only. It is an expression of the various phases in the life of a people and a revelation of the manifold forces of the human spirit. Educational and philosophic questions, social and scientific problems, either directly related to Palestine and to life on its soil or chiefly concerned with the needs of mankind as a whole—all are included within the domains of Hebrew literature.

Hebrew literature is gradually taking firm root in the soil of Palestine, becoming an integral part of life itself. It is at present one of the most vital forces emanating from *Eretz Israel* and the surest sign of our national revival.

# ART IN PALESTINE

BY SIMCHA VAN VRIESLAND-HOOFIEN

In that gray age of twenty years ago we used to have discussions concerning "The Jewish Element in Art" and "The Influence of the Jews on Literature." We even remember an inquiry concerning this problem to which serious men gave serious replies and which now seem absolutely futile to us.

For it is no longer a question of proving that the Jews have something characteristic in their artistic productions which makes them different from their fellow-artists. Now the renaissance of a nation in its own country, with a strongly marked existence of its own, will have to show whether it is able to produce an art of its own. Time has been very short. First ten years of preparation, then ten years of gradual development towards national life.

First of all, the greatest enemy of all arts, the deliberate effort, had to be overcome. Twenty years ago, Professor Boris Schatz founded in Jerusalem the Bezalel School for Arts and Crafts. This school was to be the center of all arts; there would be born a new Jewish art, not only of painting and sculpture, but also of gold and silversmith work, making of carpets, etc. But the crafts which were to be linked up with the native art of the country produced hardly anything but expensive work of inferior quality. The development of these crafts cannot be furthered by people without a tradition in art.

Worse still was the Jewish sentimentality, brought from the Diaspora. The school of art produced pictures like "Old Jew," the symbol of suffering and oppression, or "Yemenite," traditionally picturesque, or "Old Rabbi," full of noble sentiments, or "Bedouin," haughty and with unbridled courage, or "Arab Woman," with harem mysticism.

The influence and spirit of Bezalel, for long the only center producing art in the country, had first to fade. After that we had to wait for the Art which was to come, not even thinking of it for the next ten years, until now we begin to see something grow-

ing on that barren field. Only a beginning, it is true, but sincere and genuine, and struggling to attain its goal.

### PAINTING

The Palestinian pictures which have been most exhibited in Europe till now, those of Abel Pann and L. Blum, cannot be considered as representative of Palestinian art. The former is certainly a gifted artist, but himself a product of the Bezalel circle, he is still tied to its false romantic atmosphere. And Blum is hardly original.

The creator of a new Palestinian style in painting is Rubin. His artistic personality, his serenity, the lightness of his touch and his creating without struggle, speak of the pleasures of life and enjoyment of the new world which he discovers around him. In the world of landscape he is master. None like him has understood the characteristic qualities of Palestinian landscape. The clear transparent air which eliminates all perspective, like the old Persian prints; the gentle, round, rhythmic lines of the Palestinian hills, which are never steep nor pointed, neither accidental nor unexpected; the little terraces with olive trees; the lovely little donkeys and the camels with their stately steps; so many words to try to describe this landscape. It will always remain Rubin's great achievement to have created his own style for it. He has done away with all occidental "Orient-romance," which used to express the atmosphere of the Orient in cupolas and bright colors and picturesque Arabs with burnous and dark faces, the type of art used in the alluring posters of Mediterranean Tours. But in mellow tones, sublime and true, though with a personal note, the Palestine landscape rises on Rubin's canvas, whether he paints the Elysian fields of the Mount of Olives in the background, or a landscape round Nazareth full of cypresses, or Bethlehem surrounded by olive trees.

Quite another view of the Palestinian landscape is given by Anna Ticho. The charm and medieval aspect of the old stones and rocks and walls, carefully constructed with an architect's eye and an architect's love for the material, make one think of Dürer.

Rubin's influence is strongly noticeable in the work of the younger painters. Among the Tel Aviv group there is, for instance, Paldi, who paints figures of Arab fishermen and Jewish peasants with much merit.

Outside the Tel Aviv group and surely not under Rubin's influence, there is Litvinovsky. Much more a struggler, much more Jewish than Attic, and with a special sense of humor, he expresses himself in figures. His sense of colors is out of the ordinary, and in some portraits he has attained a greatness which leads to higher expectations.

### SCULPTURE

In ancient times this art was forbidden in Israel. Today the outstanding representative of sculpture is Melnikoff. He has not yet risen above his struggles with the material; but pure understanding and a great love for the wonderful stone characterize his work.

Mrs. Rivka Stark-Avivi uses quite different material. Thought out with love and devotion, her figures, made of rags, should also be known abroad: an Arab ecstatically listening to the brasslike sound of his yelling gramophone; a fat overbearing *Haluka* Jew he who distributes the dole; a weatherbeaten old grannie winding up some wool with her grandchild, all these are full of expression and done in beautiful colors.

The talented Saposhnikov, whose work is decorative in feeling, is much influenced by Bakst, Sudeikine, and the Caucasian-Russian way of decoration, which is wonderfully well adapted to the many Persian elements in the old Turkish and Arab arts. At present Saposhnikov works for the stage, especially for the troupe which has created a national Hebrew theatre, for the *Ohel* (tent).

### THEATRE

Amateur theatricals find a special field in Palestine. The stage there plays the part which it did originally, that of guide and educator of the community, summarizing and interpreting the currents which stir that community. Nowhere else is found at present such direct contact between the public and the stage as exists here.

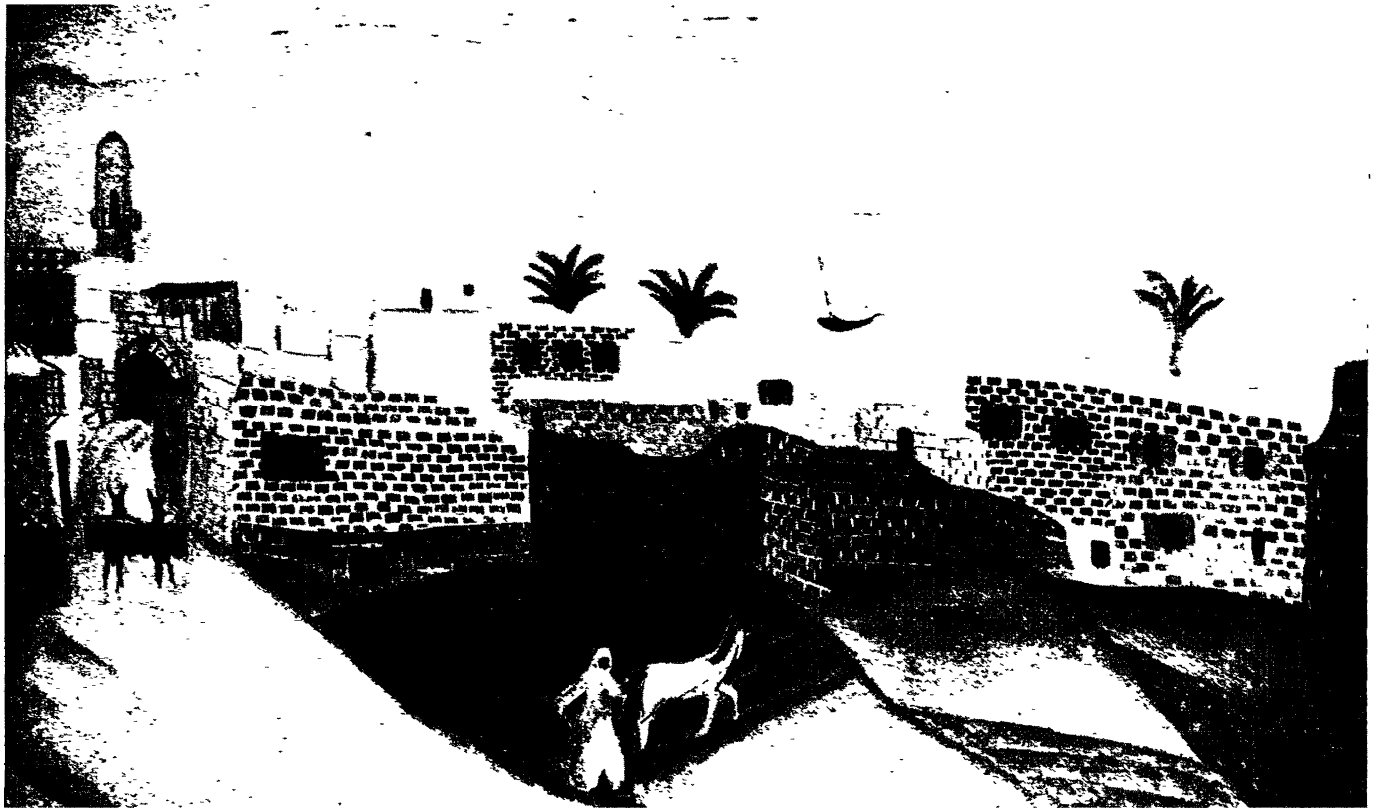
The *Ohel,* the national Hebrew troupe, is a workers' theatre. About eight years ago its members were chosen from among workingmen, the majority of whom are even now earning their day's wages in other work. During these years the *Ohel* has existed,

though precariously, through the efforts of workingmen who pay a small monthly contribution.

*Ohel* draws its inspiration from the two sources with which the workers' life here is fed, the social and the national ideals. The first prompted them to play Heyerman's *Dayagim* (Fishermen). Their national ideals led them straight to the Bible. Three important Biblical plays are already in their repertoire. It also includes a play, or rather a series of one-act plays, scenes from Perez's works.

Perez as shown here is powerful. He is the mystic poet of the East-European ghetto, of the townlet, of that strange grotesque life where human joy and distress are distorted in the comic mirror of the economic existence of the *Luftmenschen.* These dramatic sketches, each of them in one act, are perhaps the greatest and surely the most complete production of the *Ohel. Die Lewonne* (The Moon) is the story of two half-naked, miserable little boys, who at night creep stealthily out of the attic window in order to look for fantastic adventures, riding on poles or on each other's backs as on horses until abruptly in front of the baker's window their swagger collapses. They are suddenly aware of their nakedness, their misery and the cold in the full light of the laughing moon. Just for once they try again: "Moishele . . . my aunt has a silver palace with silver tables and chairs; let us go there . . ." "Leibele . . . my uncle has golden plates and spoons in his house and wonderful food at all times; let us go there . . ." But it does not work, and punished by the inexorable reality, they crawl back to their hovel, shivering and miserable in the light of the laughing moon. The production raises this simple motif above the limits of ghetto poverty. All human misery is expressed therein; but expressed by Perez, full of compassion.

It is remarkable to realize the place which the Bible plays in every-day life. In every school, not only in those of the *Mizrahi,* many hours a week are devoted to the Bible, the Five Books of Moses, the Prophets, the Old Scriptures. Many young pupils are familiar with the most intricate chapters of Isaiah or Jeremiah which would offer difficulties to a student of theology abroad. The copybook of a class of children is full of compositions on Sodom, whose history they have just been taught. Some have written an essay on it; one has made a drawing: *Mareh Sodom* (View of Sodom), with the mountains of Moab in the background, the blue Dead Sea and Sodom itself in the foreground, looking quite mod-



ern, with a water tower, only everything is upside down. Another child made a drawing of a few Sodomite houses, modernistic cubes with a yard containing a row of small idols and the inscription: "A dance in Sodom. They begin in the early hours of the morning and continue till late at night." Still another child contributes a poem describing the destruction of that town. These are children of thirteen years. The little ones when making free drawings always stereotypically reproduce simple Bible scenes: the Angel's Visit to Abraham, Hagar Fleeing, Noah with all his adventures, and many others. History lives with surprising strength in these children. All events are felt and sketched, though in modern ways, as if they had happened yesterday.

Therefore, it is not in the least considered a degradation of the Bible when the *Ohel* produces scenes from it. Indeed, they are reproduced by the same spirit which produced them, in the same land and atmosphere in which they were created; and what is of first importance, they are not translated into a foreign language, but played in the original.

Thus, in *Rachel and Jacob* the creation of Laban was particularly admired. The actor who played this rôle had for months lived among the Bedouin, so that he was able to give a perfect rendering of the sly sheik to whom his daughter and his cattle are equally dear as merchandise, a primitive old Arab rogue through whose mask, however, there glimmered from time to time the tragic accents of a Shylock.

Between the production of the light Biblical idyll, *Rachel and Jacob,* and the serious drama, *Jeremiah,* there was a period of hark work. The *Jeremiah* of Stefan Zweig was taken as a basis. But it was handled rather arbitrarily. The "Christian" tendency disappeared, not because it was Christian, but simply because in *Jeremiah* as produced by the *Ohel* the personal conflict does not fit in. From *Jeremiah* the personal note had to disappear. Communal interests and communal life are still in the foreground in this country. We have not yet arrived at dramatized struggles of the individual's soul. A society play would be absurd here. In general, the stage probably grows the same way as the modern film which seeks its most fascinating dramas no longer in individual events and conflicts, but in those of social groups. Surely in this country, in this community, the expressionist style is the most suitable, not because of arbitrary modernism, but because of its

innermost necessity. Thus *Dayagim,* too, had to be played not in the realistic style of twenty years ago, but in an expressionist way, with a prologue and an epilogue, in order to emphasize the conflict of a group, not of an individual. The prologue is in the form of a tableau, the ship's crew in the stormy night on the half-capsized ship, in danger of life, dragging cables and chains to the rhythm of a sailor's chantey, till suddenly, with a desperate cry, they disappear together with the ship in the depths of the sea. The end, the epilogue, is still freer as compared with the original. The final tableau shows the ghosts of the crew of the shipwrecked boat against the background of the shipowner's office. On the scene of that group of fiercely threatening workmen, ramming and pressing forward while Bos, the shipowner, shrinks back in front of his safe, the curtain falls.

In *Jeremiah,* too, there are many expressionist movements of the masses. The scene of the first three acts is the place in front of the Temple. The desperate struggle of the people in the grasp of Nebuchadnezzar, to whom Jerusalem is tributary; the revolt and the alliance of King Zadekiah with Egypt which perfidiously abandons him in accordance with its traditions, when Nebuchadnezzar approaches Jerusalem to punish the town; the policy of surrender preached by Jeremiah; the revolt against it; the wild antagonism of the parties inside the walls; the siege of the town ending with the fall of Jerusalem, these are the contents of the play. Nothing but historical matter, and perhaps not a fascinating theme. The first performance was held during the tension after the August, 1929, disturbances and never before was an audience so wrapt up in the events on the stage as on that evening when the allusions were so close at hand.

First we see the people making merry after the alliance with Egypt. There is a beautiful sword dance, learned from the Bedouin of today. Then appears the sombre figure of Jeremiah which more and more becomes the central power of the play, offsetting King Zadekiah's hesitations and his vain efforts to find support in his difficult responsibility, first from the State Council, afterwards, when the town is famished, from the inexorable Jeremiah himself. But even when rising from his dungeon, Jeremiah has no word of consolation for the desperate king. In the last act, the final battle, there is the regular, profoundly disturbing ramming of the walls, which suddenly stops when the last citizens rush in to find

shelter within the Temple Walls, and the commander-in-chief has fallen upon his sword. A breathless quiet. The Temple gates fall and three proud, monstrously broad figures of Chaldean warriors step outside.

The Epilogue shows the procession of the great men of Israel being led away as prisoners to Babylon, the first Exile. Only then Jeremiah finds words of compassion and consolation, puts his arms around the blind, broken Zadekiah and foretells the immortality of the people.

The soul of this theatre is the producer, Moshe Halevy, a young man who studied with Stanislavsky in Russia, and also worked a few years with the *Habimah* before he came to Palestine, where he has created his own Popular Theatre. These two theatres, the *Ohel* and the *Habimah,* should not be confounded. The *Habimah* has worked abroad and is known there. But the *Habimah,* though it undoubtedly has great merits, is no national theatre. The use of Hebrew alone does not create a national theatre, for no national theatre can be created outside its own land. It is contact with the people, the atmosphere, and the landscape, which influences the theatre. The daily spoken Hebrew improves the nuances of the stage language and *vice versa,* the careful diction and the lofty style of Biblical Hebrew on the stage influence daily language, just as the classical French of the *Comédie Française* has given a standard to spoken French.

## MUSIC

The *élan* of the theatre gives an impetus to other arts as well. For instance, there is the young composer Gorochov, who has composed music for *Jeremiah* which in part is very meritorious. If there is one art where the executors should break with traditional forms, it is music. That which used to be taken for Jewish music is a conglomeration of various elements. Synagogue music is often composed on well-known opera motifs and old Jewish folk songs are often nothing but Slavic melodies sung in a ghetto fashion, sentimental and depressing.

The Jewish people has not yet its own music and does not yet sing its own songs, which in all nations are a source of strength. But it sings in spite of that. The *Halutzim* and the *Halutzoth* in their villages, at their numerous meetings, at their still more nu-

merous celebrations can often be heard singing from afar at night. They sing and dance the *Hora,* an Arabian dance. This is also the new and the good element in Gorochov, who takes his motifs from the Arabs, absorbing them and harmonizing them in European fashion, giving wings to those monotonous melodies which are more recitative than melody. He is able to do so because he is close to the Arabs, among whom he has lived. "I walked behind a camel-driver who sang as he drove, always the same. I walked for an hour behind that camel-driver and at night I composed *Gamal, Gamali,*" he tells us. "*Gamal*" is the camel-song which all Palestinian children sing with a peculiar syncopic rhythm, imitating the camel's steps. Gorochov has composed many children's songs which are most urgently needed.

Engell, who unfortuntely died young, devoted himself to studies and rearrangements of Jewish musical themes, and also composed songs for the *Obel* as well as children's songs. His name is known in every Hebrew kindergarten. Rabinowitz has composed *Halutz* songs.

But we are still at the beginning. Before each village will have its community chorus, and these singers their songs; before children will have been taught to sing well in school; before this country will have found its own style and expression in music, much water will have flowed through the Jordan and many gramophone records will have droned out Max Bruch's *Kol Nidre* as if that were Jewish music.

### NOTE ON APPRECIATION OF ART IN PALESTINE, BY THE EDITOR

The love of art and the hunger for art of the Jews in Palestine give the proper type of audience for the development of a native art. Exhibitions, private and public, of one man's work and of groups of artists, are frequent in Jerusalem and Tel Aviv, especially throughout the spring season. And if buyers are few, visitors are many. That is because the chief patrons of art, as of all things of the spirit in Palestine, are the workingmen and women.

Besides those creative expressions of the new Palestinian life which are told of in this chapter, there are the echoes of European art that a still European populace avidly harkens for. Palestinian Jews studying art abroad and sometimes successful there, return

here to struggle with that problem of an unrooted people, is art personal, national or universal? Among these are the two powerful women sculptors, Hannah Orloff and Batya Lishanski. There are also younger painters whose work is characterized by the European unrest.

In music, our imports far exceed our exports. There are musical societies in Jerusalem and Tel Aviv. Excellent concerts of classical and modern music are frequent and well attended. Chamber music is especially well performed, owing to the efforts and skill of members of the Bentwich family. Children's concerts are arranged by the Association of Kindergartners and a symphony orchestra has with small means, limited numbers, and all the handicaps of a pioneer community, succeeded in giving performances that are at least reminiscent of the best in the highest form of music.

For several years, an opera company, which might be favorably compared with similar companies in the smaller American and European cities, gave performances of the standard operas in Hebrew translation, but despite record audiences, it was forced to discontinue for lack of means.

Almost all of the famous Jewish musicians of the world have visited Palestine. The custom here of giving special concerts for workingmen free or at nominal prices has always been followed by visiting musicians.

Palestinian talent also found expression in instrumental and vocal music as well as in the dance. In some instances, as that of a gifted Yemenite girl who devotes herself to oriental themes, this talent seeks original local expression. Yemenite and Hassidic melodies are popularized. The *Halutz* song is the folk song and for better or worse the people sing! Rabinowitz is devoted to the community chorus, and has organized choral societies for Hebrew folk music in the villages and towns, with frequent rallies and intertown song meets.

As for the theatre, *Habimah* gives performances in Palestine every season, and there is hope that it will one day become a national theatre. In popularity if not in originality it rivals the *Ohel.* The *Mattate* (Broom) is a satiric Hebrew theatre company which gets bitter humor out of political and economic situations and fun out of everything. "Talkies" and "movies" flood the country. The frequency of literary evenings devoted to the reading of

poetry, often by the authors themselves, is another expression of the artistic life of the country.

The love of art and its expression are out of all proportion to the numbers, poverty, hardships and deprivations of our pioneer state of Palestine.

# JEWS IN THE WORLD

BY NAHUM SOKOLOW

The problem of the Jew is not exclusively his own. It is as much the concern of the world, whose centuries of tradition have created for him a certain status, and whose present political and economic complex has enmeshed him so tightly that his very existence is threatened. Never in modern history has the future been more uncertain for the Jew. A world which once gave him a definite place, even though an uneasy one, has been submerged by forces of instability and chaos. Centuries of economic law are crumbling under the pressure of new commercial and industrial factors. The hardships normally imposed upon the Jews have been accentuated by the discontent which prevails in many lands. This discontent seeks an outlet and finds a convenient target in the people which seems to serve as a vicarious atonement for the sins of the world. Coupled with economic and political burdens pressing upon the Jew are the forces of spiritual confusion and disintegration. One cannot adequately describe the position of world Jewry with a sweeping generalization, but it is nevertheless true to say that the Jewish people are confronted with a critical decision; either to be wrecked in the maelstrom of hostile forces or to revitalize their Jewish consciousness and be saved for themselves and the world as a whole.

The post-War period brought disillusionment to the Jews as it did to all mankind. The diplomats at Versailles had hoped to secure a guarantee of rights for Jewish minorities in countries traditionally unfriendly. The names of the countries which have flouted those treaties are known to all who read the newspapers even casually. European Jews have felt the crushing burden of the World War perhaps more than any other group. They have been made the scapegoat for reparation, debts, military setbacks, and even drought and overproduction. We are only too familiar with the Continental political demagogue who feeds venom to a constituency seeking bread.

A few Jews in Europe have survived the economic debacle of recent years. Propagandists make them representative of an entire people. It is conveniently forgotten that millions upon millions are starving, in need of that relief which has been provided for years by a generous American Jewry. Economic discrimination, civil inequalities, educational disabilities, professional boycotts, these are the factors with which European Jews must contend.

There is another country which one must consider in studying the position of the Jew in the world today. That is Soviet Russia. Not only the religious activities but the Jewish cultural efforts of Russian Jewry have been rigorously combated. When these incidents of brutal intolerance are cited, we are told in certain quarters that the Jew in Russia today is more fortunate than he was under the Czar. It is pointed out that he is protected against those anti-Semitic outbursts which are typical of countries neighboring Russia. One must, of course, acknowledge that in this respect the Russians have shown a commendable regard for the physical rights of Jews. The preservation of Russia's three million Jews is a spiritual if not a physical problem. Those of us who are revolted by the standardization fashioned by the machine age must be doubly repelled by the intellectual monotony produced by the Russian mold. Unless Russia yields to liberalizing influences, we can expect the extinction of the specific Jewish contribution to Russian culture.

In the United States, too, there have been occasional rumors of quotas on Jewish students in universities, of efforts to restrict the number of Jews in the professions. There are also increasing stories of discrimination in employment. But one of the gravest aspects of the economic insecurity of Jews in this country is the growth of the gigantic corporations, which, through mergers and the chain system, are gradually eliminating the middleman. The Jew arrived at his position as middleman through centuries of compulsion. Generally speaking, the Jew here, as elsewhere, did not choose his vocation; it was thrust upon him. Whether or not the economic process now taking place is desirable, it is obvious that thousands of Jews are being forced to seek new forms of livelihood.

The picture of Jewish conditions in the world today is largely in sombre colors. On the one hand economic hardship; on the other hand spiritual suffocation. Is the Jew, then, to succumb to

despair, to wait for the final tidal wave which will sweep him into the extinction of forgotten peoples?

The history of the Jews provides the answer to that question. They are a resilient people. They bend far with the wind of adversity, but they spring back with the passing of the storm. Reliance upon blind faith is not, I admit, a counsel with which to hearten men in these times.

It is my belief that the great masses of Jews have an intuitive trust in their destiny. That accounts for the strength of the Zionist movement. It is a mistaken notion that Zionism is exclusively the effort to rebuild the Jewish homeland in Palestine. That, of course, is a major objective. But in the larger sense Zionism is the answer of the modern Jew to the challenge hurled at him by the world. It is the symbol of his belief in himself. Zionism is the token of the Jew's ability to adapt himself to contemporary conditions. It is the force which is developing the Jewish Renaissance, creating new reservoirs of strength for the Jews as a people.

America provides a typical example of the resistance offered by Jews to the forces of disintegration. In no other land perhaps is the compulsion toward loss of identity so vigorous. There are those, indeed, who predict from time to time that in a decade American Jewry will become lost in the whirlpool of uniformity. But the decade passes and Jewish institutions flourish.

It is true that newer forms of Jewish life are being evolved, in response to the particular conditions which prevail. But the historic continuity of the Jew remains unbroken. It is as true in the field of religion as in the realm of purely cultural activities. Those who have watched the development of liberal Judaism in recent years must have observed how strong is the current in the direction of traditional religious channels. Reform Jewish leaders have recognized that the appeal of the synagogue is bound up with those ceremonials and those customs which have held the Jews together and given their lives a unique flavor.

Some years ago there was prevalent in this country a theory that Jews are attempting to escape from the fold. It was said with dogmatic certainty that assimilation is making heavy inroads into the ranks of the Jewish population. My own observations today point to a different conclusion. I have noticed that men in the professions, men in business, men in the laboring ranks are exhibiting a new interest in their people and their problems. Individuals

who used to pride themselves on their aloofness are becoming affiliated with Jewish groups and Jewish institutions. There will be those to assert that the forces of oppression are serving to unite the Jews today, as they always have in the past. That there is some truth in that feeling cannot be doubted. But it is also true that the Jew, having tasted the fruits of civil emancipation, is beginning to recognize that the franchise is a means and not the end.

In many respects the rebuilding of Palestine can serve as a stimulant to Jewish self-understanding. Many tens of thousands of families can settle there with perfect comfort for themselves and for those already in the land. These men and women will create new values in art, letters and thought in terms of the inherent characteristics of Jews. Unhampered, they will find the formula to reconcile the Jew and the modern world. It is the seeming irreconcilability of the two which has so profoundly disturbed the intellectual Jew throughout the world. He has often wondered what he, as a Jew, could contribute to his environment. His inability to function as a Jew has unsettled his faith in himself and marred his usefulness to society. Through the establishment of a homogeneous, creative Jewish community, Palestine can give to Jews wherever they are a sense of kinship that will sustain them in the struggle of integration in which they will be involved for many years to come.

In many instances the solution of the Jewish problem is dependent upon the statesmanship of the particular country in which they live. Germany and Poland are typical instances. In both countries the Jew must hope for an improvement in economic conditions and the suppression by the governments of chauvinistic prejudice. In those countries where economic adjustments are being made, where capitalism is entering upon a new phase, the Jews, through capable leaderships, must adapt themselves to a new place in society. If they are given the cooperation of their neighbors, they can become productive members of economic units that have previously been closed to them. Agriculture and industry are channels for the rehabilitation of the Jew. It is, of course, ironic to refer to these branches of production at the present moment. But Jews are used to thinking of the future in long range terms.

The Jewish problem must be settled within the boundaries of each country. The world today is governed by rigid immigration restrictions. There can no longer be the mighty treks which marked

the expulsion of the Jews by oppression or forcible ejections. Whatever iniquities exist, whatever maladjustments have grown up must be disposed of where they originated. The Jew will apply his patience, his courage and his energy to the solution of the problem. From his non-Jewish neighbors he asks an equal measure of patience, but in far greater measure vision and courage—vision to see the errors of the past and courage to correct them.*

(In the world today there are approximately 15,050,000 Jews. Of these, according to the census of 1927, 4,228,029 live in the United States. In Poland (1921), 2,845,364; in Ukrainia (1926), 1,574,428; in Rumania, 900,000. Over a million live in Russia and the new east European states. In Great Britain there are about 300,000 Jews. Germany has 600,000, France nearly a quarter of a million. Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Austria together account for another million. Jews are scattered in more than seventy nations, on every continent and many islands of the sea. In Palestine, the Jewish national center, there are only 175,000, one Jew for every 200 Jews in the world, but there is scarcely a nation of the world whose Jews are not represented there.—ED.)

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# THE SPIRIT IN PALESTINE

"NOT BY MIGHT AND NOT BY POWER, BUT BY MY SPIRIT, SAITH THE LORD OF HOSTS."

BY JESSIE SAMPTER

## SPIRITUAL DEMANDS ON PALESTINE

What unites Jews? Wherein lies our identity, who are so scattered, so diverse, so exasperatingly disputatious? What unites Zionists besides the fact that they all wish the return to Palestine?

On one other thing Zionists are agreed: To each of them the return to Zion has more than economic, philanthropic, utilitarian worth. It has Meaning. To each this Meaning may differ, but to each it is a central, spiritual fact.

The criticism of Zionism, the opposition to it, is also usually based on an examination of its Meaning. Those who oppose Zionism because they consider it impracticable are very few compared with those who oppose it because they consider it (1) anti-religious; or (2) religious; or (3) chauvinistic; or (4) socialistic; or (5) nationalistic; or (6) anti-nationalistic.

The possibility of opposing Zionism on such opposite grounds raises the questions: Are the Jews of Palestine religious? Anti-religious? Superstitious? Narrow nationalists? International socialists?

When Jews ask whether Palestinian Jewry is religious, they always mean by religion their own kind of Judaism. When the Reform Jew asks this, his favorite question in regard to Palestine, and shrinks back in horror at the idea of an atheist *Halutz,* he surely is not shocked at the *Halutz* who rides on Sabbath or fails to *kosher* his meat. He breaks such laws himself, with conviction. The Orthodox Jew, asking the same question, does not even think of atheism; he thinks just of the Sabbath ride and of the *trefe* meat. Each Jew transfers his ideal of Judaism to Palestine and asks whether Palestinian Jewry can fulfil it for him. Zion, for the Jew,

must be the city of his god. But Jews worship many gods, even though each worships only one.

Every Zionist and every Jew turning to Zion, no matter how political, practical, hard-headed he may be, ultimately demands of Zion that it become his spiritual center.

## JUDAISM IN PALESTINE

To answer the question whether Palestinian Jewry is religious is at once to explain the diversities of opposition. There are in Palestine groups of Jews more meticulously orthodox than it may be possible to be in any other part of the world. There are also groups who take delight in glaring heresy and do it more freely and joyfully than might be possible anywhere else. On the whole, the Sabbath, the Jewish holy days and holidays are vigorously lived there by the Community, with certain divergencies of observance and without regard to inner divergencies of faith. But Jews are peculiarly free in Palestine to express diversities of Judaism because they can give them full swing in their social as well as their Sabbath life, not being pressed into the mold of alien *mores*. Only Reform Judaism practically does not exist there because it is just an adaptation to such alien *mores* which do not exist there.

In place of Reform there is growth. Thought and longing are wide awake, searching for new paths of the spirit. The peculiar gift of the Jewish people is the gift of spirit. The Jew is inward, yet not wholly introverted. He sees the world, looks out at it, not only inward at his own navel, as is the wont of Eastern mystics. Yet he is not an extrovert, does not look out at the world and see its surface reflected on his surface, as does the typical Westerner. He looks out at its inwardness. He remains centered in the spirit. That is his distinction; in this he is chosen, as the British claim a sense of fair play and courteous compromise, the Americans mechanical sense, the French artistic discrimination, the Germans philosophic acumen. Each of these tags labels a chest of intricate riches. What it means where Jews are concerned is not that all Jews are spiritual, but that we have an unusually large proportion of men of the spirit. What it means in Palestine is great laborings of the spirit, searchings and eruptions out of all proportion to our numbers or even to our general education.

As for Judaism as a religion by that name, one sometimes for-

gets in Palestine that one is a Jew. There is no one to remind us. A child of ten, leaving Palestine for the first time, discovered on the boat that he was a Jew. A Catholic child told him so.

### FORMS OF THE NEW SPIRIT IN PALESTINE

The ritual forms of Judaism in Palestine are always the traditional forms. There is no synagogue where men and women sit together, no abbreviated service. Wherever the spirit forges new forms for itself it does so out of molten shapeless riches. They are not yet called forms; they are still too plastic.

The Hebrew language is an expression of the Hebrew spirit. The Bible, which is the source-book for our whole book education in Palestine, is also the source-book of the Hebrew spirit. The new spirit might in this sense be called Hebraic rather than Jewish, because it is so very old. Atheism barely exists in Palestine; though there may be many who deny all the Jewish gods. Life is too moving and too deep here to be held in the mechanistic atheist formula.

We had A. D. Gordon, who preached the gospel of labor. In Hebrew, the word for work and the word for religious service are the same: *Avodah.* Gordon was a *Halutz,* though not a very young one, who lived and died in Degania and lies buried there. He was a spiritual leader, also an agricultural laborer. He wrote Hebrew essays imbued with worship and wonder. He said work is our form of worship, our *Avodah,* our sacrifice in place of burnt offerings. The dispersion replaced Temple service with prayer; Palestine replaces it with work. It is this religious devotion, unspoken, deeply lived, which imbues our pioneers, which makes their endurance of hardship not only possible, but joyous. Work is service because it creates life, because it alone makes life with one's fellows sweet and just. For either we must work together and for one another or we must be served by slaves or be oppressed by masters, exploit or be exploited.

Palestine is recreated. We build the land which is our altar. Our worship upon it will be the *Avodah* of human brotherhood. That is the religion of the *Halutz.* There is an organization called *Gordonia,* which has *Kvutzoth* of its own. But all *Halutziuth* is imbued with this spirit.

From this living of an idea, suffering and dying for it, spring other forms. There is the joyous dance on Friday night; there are

the new Hebrew folk melodies and especially the revival of *Hassidic* and Yemenite religious songs. *Halutziuth* is not untraditional; it is only unconventional. It does not accept traditions as laws. A *Halutzah* who denies all religion is superstition starts singing a *Hassidic* melody, softly, absently. She sits in a ring of young people in the *Kvutzah* on Friday evening. Then she rises, still singing, begins to dance, rapt, mystic, with the same motions of solemn joy as her father used to make. She is joined, a ring forms, a *Hora* dance develops, with wild joy, abandon, religious fervor of abandon. Festivals are celebrated in their ancient dress. *Shavuoth,* the festival of first fruits! And rabbis are shocked because the villagers of the *Emek* drive in carts to the festival at Ein Harod. An issue is made of it. A break between *Avodah* and *Avodah,* between the old worshippers and the young.

Bialik, the poet-leader, creates a form called *Oneg Shabbat,* Saturday afternoon meetings for religious discussion and song. Crowds, all kinds of Jews, flock to them.

### MESSIANIC LONGINGS

In a time of spiritual unrest and yearning, false messiahs and false gods abound. The followers of Gordon forget Gordon's premise and worship, Work. Socialism, Marxism, *Hassidism,* all of them forms of the spirit, gestures of truth, are taken for truth itself and worshipped as gods. We need a deepening; we are ripe for a leader. *Oneg Shabbat* is also only a form that awaits its content. Without that it will fall into decay. Interest seeks elsewhere.

The widely accepted idea, that a *Sanhedrin* of Rabbis in Palestine can develop traditional Judaism and interpret the Law so as to adapt it to modern life and make it acceptable to the modern Jew, suffers a rude shock when we become acquainted with the actual workings of the present Rabbinate in Palestine. Our Rabbinical Courts, made potent in social legislation, sanction child-marriages as well as they enforce the *Huppa.* So far their judgments have not been interpretive, and when or if they become so they will have to take account of the whole social situation. The strict observance of traditional law is what preserved Judaism and with it the Jews in the Diaspora. There it is the living stream, or at least the banks that confine the living stream of Jewishness. In Palestine Jewishness need not be confined and protected against

the inroads of alien life. Law, which is necessary for our social relations, no longer has meaning when it is applied to customs of household living. Customs that were preserved in the form of laws in the Diaspora may again become customs freely practised for their joy and beauty. But the effort to enforce as laws such personal matters only antagonizes the more spiritual and progressive sections of the population. The concept of tradition should replace that of law. We do not want to quarrel with rabbis in Jerusalem over the playing of football on the Sabbath and call that a religious issue.

Messiah means salvation, the inner salvation of which men are capable in any age, at any time. We are now waiting for a leader to gather up our spiritual forces and give them back to us formed and articulate. He will speak again in the name of God, as Spinoza did.

He has been on the way for the last twenty years, since we began to live *Halutziuth.* Our Socialist youth organizations, *Shomer Hazair, Gordonia, Hehalutz,* have been breaking stones for paths of the spirit as well as for the roads of Palestine.

Russia or Palestine: An iron-bound organization to force just forms of society, or a free communion of life and of the spirit to create them. Part of mankind against the rotten part, trying to cure injustice with a bloody operation, or mankind seeking unity within itself by taking thought.

The vital part of Jewish youth in the world today is choosing and can choose only one of these two paths, Communism or Social Zionism:

The outer or the inner.
Mechanism or the spirit.
Russia or Palestine.

# THE JEWISH IDEAL OF NATIONALISM

BY JESSIE SAMPTER

## TRADITIONAL JEWISH CONCEPTION OF NATIONALISM

Jewish Nationalism is never questioned in the Bible. It does not appear that in Egypt, before the Exodus, the problem of whether or not the Jews are a nation or a people or a race or a religious community was ever seriously discussed. The Prophets were at one and the same time both nationalists and internationalists, that is, they speak of peace and goodwill among the nations, of whom the Jews are one. Yet Reform Judaism has found in them somewhere and somehow the justification for its idea that the dispersion is a blessing in disguise and Judaism solely a religion.

In both they are right if they carry their conclusions far enough. The dispersion, according to traditional ideas, is a blessing because it is a punishment, forecasting salvation, return. The traditional conception of the historic rôle of the Jewish people is that we were chosen by God to be His people, to live by His laws and commandments. We were to be a sign, an example to the nations, our life a model if we obeyed, our punishment a warning if we failed. God gave or lent us the land of Canaan, Palestine, to keep only so long as we kept the Covenant with Him, so long as we lived by the *Torah*. Our punishment for disobedience would be swifter and surer than that of any other people less severely schooled. Yet in the end, prophecy consoles us, we will be worthy to return, even though only a remnant shall return, and to invite mankind to the worship of God on Mt. Zion, to brotherhood and salvation.

## JUDAISM AS NATIONALISM

As for Judaism being solely a religion and the Jews therefore a religious community, not a nation, people, or race, a good deal can be said for this if we go deep enough; at least for the positive part of it. The Jews are a nation, people, race only because they believe

themselves to be so. In the forms of religion, in language, history, laws, customs, did they preserve their nationalism. Jewish nationalism is a spiritual fact. To every Jew his being or not being Jewish is bound up with his ultimate conception of life, and his type of Judaism is his religion, whether he deny or affirm, whether he be Orthodox, Conservative, Reform, Zionist, Assimilationist, Atheist, Nationalist, or Communist. Being Jewish is not a simple biological fact of race or place, like being French or Chinese. The dispersion has proved that neither a common land, a common faith, a common language, or a common culture are necessary to preserve a people (compare a Yemenite Jew with an English Jew), but only a common ancient history and a common belief that we are a people with a common destiny. We are a people because we believe ourselves to be one and because our neighbors agree with us.

## MODERN CONCEPTIONS OF NATIONALISM, UNIVERSALISM, AND WAR

In 1914 a paper was to be written on Nationalism and Universalism, the thesis of which was that internationalism does not imply the end of nations but the peaceful interrelation of nations. To get material, the author went to the Public Library in New York, and found exactly one article on the subject, in an English magazine, by Askwith, the Scotchman. A good deal of material was also found in the Bible; for the rest, the writer had to use his wits.

Since then volumes have been written on this subject. The World War aroused interest in it, since the chief prejudice against nationalism springs from the belief that it is the cause of war. Yet the curious groupings of the World War, where Japanese and British were arrayed against Turks and Germans, have amply proven that diversity of race, language, and culture is not the cause of war. Wars are caused not by diversity of interests but by identical economic interests that clash.

There is only one cause for war; there are two forms of this cause and two remedies. The predatory instinct is the ultimate cause; its two forms are individual and collective. The anarchy of nations can be cured only by an inter-nation or true League of Nations which will control trade and the settlement of migrating masses, in whose sovereignty all nations will share and whose decisions all nations will accept. The economic anarchy within nations can be cured only by a just redistribution of land and goods and

labor and by a truly public or collective control of their use and exchange. This would make it impossible to send hordes into war when those who control their lives want war. The education of the predatory instinct, taking thought to control negative passions, taking pains to organize collective affairs: this is the only hope—and a long, long hope—for mankind. These things are unaffected by national forms or political platforms. Every type of nation, monarchy, democracy, empire, dictatorship, fascist or communist, is capable of war. The factors that are at work in peace and war are economic and psychological. Revolutions upset and reset. They cannot ultimately change what can be changed only from within, not by upsetting but by nurture. Hence it is not nationalism but primitivism which is the cause of war.

### TWO ASPECTS OF NATIONALISM

A land and its people are like a body and its soul. Like these, also, they are not two things but one, two aspects of the same thing. A nation is made up of land and people; it cannot exist without one or the other.

But in the development of nations, one or the other aspect has been more emphasized, as in different individuals, or the same individual at different times, physical or psychic interests have a different degree of importance.

In the Roman Empire, the idea of citizenship without regard to race was first evolved. It was, however, an artificial, political expedient to bind distant peoples to the City of Rome.

Modern democracy, beginning with the French Revolution, has emphasized the country itself more than the race or people. Ethnic, racial aspects of nationality have been subordinated to the idea of citizenship in the country. Any person, no matter what his heredity, has nominally an equal status once he becomes a citizen. State and nation are then identical. The United States of America, with its "melting pot," is the extreme phase of this physical, economic or land aspect of nationalism. A people separated from its land and clinging to it only in memory and hope (such as the Armenians) or oppressed within its land and forced to migrate (such as the Irish in the past century) are typical of those nations in whom race and ethnic unity play the predominating rôle. The extreme phase of this ethnic nationalism is seen in the Jewish people.

Both aspects, the economic and the psychological, country and racial tradition, exist in all nations, in all extremes of national experience. Both have their positive and their negative aspects. The positive aspect of racial tradition is culture; its negative aspect is race prejudice. The positive aspect of country is patriotism; its negative aspect is exploitation and oppression of weaker nations.

In the United States of America, state and nation are identical. National groupings within the state are not recognized. For this reason an American Jew cannot, as an American, speak of Jewish nationalism existing for him as a political reality unless he goes to settle in Palestine. In Eastern Europe, on the contrary, Jewish nationalism is taken for granted, even by non-Zionists. In Switzerland, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, several nations make up the state and are recognized within it as separate ethnic groups. The more spiritual aspect of nationalism appreciates collective traditional values in the individual and in the group.

## A JEWISH STATE

Herzl wrote a book called *The Jewish State* which has come to be looked upon as the source book of Zionism, as Karl Marx's "Kapital" is of Socialism. Both were written on presumptions before the events. What do we today mean by a Jewish State, and is it a Jewish State that we ask for in the Jewish Commonwealth of Palestine?

A Jewish State would mean a complete identity of ethnic group with land. If we want a Jewish State in Palestine, that is, a Jewish Government according to our recognized ideals of freedom and justice, we have to choose one of two courses: either we have to limit the population of Palestine, its citizenship, to Jews and so become a purely ethnic state; or else we have to accept the American idea of citizenship as constituting nationality and admit that any person becoming a citizen of Palestine will thereby become a Jew. Having reached these absurd conclusions, we have to look elsewhere. Another form of Jewish State, the only other possible form, would be that in which the Government were Jewish and had other peoples under it; that is, the Jews would be the governing class in Palestine. This is equally unthinkable.

But if we admit the only logical and natural outcome of our life in Palestine, a Government representing all the people of the

land, a state which is not ethnic but which admits the equal rights and autonomy of ethnic groups within it, irrespective of their proportionate strength or numbers, then we will have not a Jewish State but a Palestinian State. Of this Palestinian State, the Jews in Palestine will be an integral part, not a minority with rights, guaranteed their internal autonomy and their share in the general government of the country.

This is the resolution adopted by the Council of the Jewish Agency at Basle, July, 1931:

> "Jewish-Arab Understanding. The Council of the Jewish Agency once more places on record its earnest desire for the creation of a durable understanding between Jews and Arabs in Palestine on the basis of mutual confidence and respect, and its conviction that Jews and Arabs have a common interest in the peaceful development of Palestine. The Council instructs the Executive to continue its work for the establishment, under the Mandate, of harmonious relations between Jews and Arabs, based on the acceptance by both parties of the principle that neither is to dominate, or be dominated, by the other."

Only power can enforce rights. We must have the power at all times to maintain this position of group autonomy and a fair share in collective government. This power may be given by numbers or by wealth or by culture or by influence or by solidarity with the other groups. All of these things are means to this end, not the end in itself. We want power, not to govern others but to govern ourselves. The chief source of such power is the good will of our neighbors.

### JEWISH-ARAB SOLIDARITY

Every country has the Government it deserves. That is, the will or lack of will of the people governed is the final arbiter. In a retarded state of civilization such as that of the majority of Palestine's inhabitants and of its near geographic neighbors, a mandate in the hands of an outside Power may be considered a protection to the Jews. Still, recent events indicate that such protection would be equally necessary to us in Berlin, Vienna, and Warsaw. Uncivilized people seem no more prone to persecute, loot, riot, murder and

make war than civilized ones, and the good will of our neighbors would be our only adequate protection. Let us assume that a British Mandate, if properly administered, is the best form of Government for the Palestinian State at this moment in its development. It is the nature of Jews to be friendly to Government, to accept and cooperate with any but a tyrannical one. But we are not allies of Great Britain. For allies we must turn to our natural neighbors and our kin, the natives of Palestine. Anti-Semitism in the Western world means hate of the alien. We lived at peace with Arabs and Moors for generations. Yet if we, the bane of the West, are hated in Palestine today, it is as representatives of the West. We must come home to the East in soul and spirit as well as in body; we must become Easterners again and share the hard lot of the rest of the natives. First of all, let us take the chance involved in becoming citizens of Palestine. Whatever our duty to the Government, our bond is with the land it governs, our permanent relation is with our fellow-citizens, the Arabs, who have no mandate that can be terminated, but are like us indwellers of the land. Whatever force in the Mandatory Government may work against Arab-Jewish unity must be exposed and protested with more vigor than any passing infringement of our national rights. A peace, a security dependent on British military force, is neither peaceful nor secure; such dependence in our weakness on the physical strength of empire is for us not safe nor dignified nor even adequate. The welfare of Palestine, and therefore of the Jews in it, ultimately depends on two factors: the solidarity of its inhabitants and the condition of its inhabitants. Our first task, which we have so far sorely neglected, is to make the Arabs realize that our economic interests are identical with theirs and our political and cultural aims complementary to theirs and in no way opposed to their most far-reaching dreams of Arab nationalism or Arab federation. A Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine would in no way interfere with these. Our second task is to develop our institutions in such a way that they will give the Arab masses the impetus and possibility to attain an approximately equal standard of life with our own, that is, in literacy, economic and social hygienic conditions. A first step towards this is the organization and protection of all labor, Arab and Jewish, and the raising of labor standards through negotiation and legislation. The Jewish Federation of Labor in principle stands for this Arab-Jewish cooperation, but in fact has only occasionally

reached its high aim. The acquisition by Jews of the Arab language, and *vice-versa,* is a means to further these ends.

Today the Arab press, with one doubtful exception, is against us. The Arab Youth Organization and the Moslem Congress pass resolutions against Zionism and against all cooperation with Jews until the aim of Zionism is renounced. That aim is deliberately misinterpreted because this wide-spread opposition to us is a political weapon in the hands of self-seeking leaders. Yet despite injurious trade boycotts and fallacious propaganda, Jews and Arabs do cooperate in many economic, agricultural and civic affairs.

The *Brith Shalom* (Covenant of Peace), a Jewish society to improve Arab-Jewish relations, was organized some years ago and came into prominence at the time of the riots of 1929, because of its efforts to negotiate with Arab leaders who were considered responsible for the tragedy. Since the present leaders of the Palestinian Arabs are feudal overlords and often merely self-seekers, using and instigating the people to serve their own ends, much of the criticism of *Brith Shalom* comes from those who are in sympathy with its general aims but oppose some of its methods. This split among seekers of peace does no good and creates a false impression that all outside of the *Brith Shalom* are unfriendly to the Arabs. As opposed to these rather too intellectual and remote efforts to reach the Arab, mention should be given to several Jewish young men, *Halutzim,* students of Arab lore, language and history, who dress and live as Arabs and work with them to the end of finding a common basis for our national lives.

Labor solidarity between Jews and Arabs would free the Arab peasant from the exploitation and oppression of the feudal class that uses him for its own ends, and would give the Jewish worker power to upbuild Jewish life in Palestine on the basis of unexploited Jewish labor. This labor solidarity alone is the rock bottom which will keep the Jewish National Home from flying to bits in the world revolution that threatens to explode here as everywhere.

### ERETZ ISRAEL

During the inquiry of the Shaw Commission after the riots of 1929, an Arab witness objected to Jews using the name *Eretz Israel* for Palestine. He was asked what the words meant, and he answered without hesitation: "A Jewish Kingdom."

What does *Eretz Israel,* the Land of Israel, mean to us? A Jewish Kingdom or even a Jewish State?

The State is the political organism of Palestine. *Eretz Israel* is an idea. Israel is the name which Jacob received from the Angel after he wrestled and subdued within himself all fear and hate of his brother, all ambition of personal aggrandizement. The name Israel is our transcendental title, the Land of Israel transcends Palestine. Palestine was the Land of Israel even when not a Jew could set foot upon it, when it was certainly not the Land of the Jews. Today Palestine is the Land of Israel not only to those very few Jews that dwell in it, but equally so to every Jew in the world who identifies himself with Israel. The Land of Israel is not a place, it is a spirit, the soul of Jewish Palestine.

That Palestine is the Land of Israel to the Jew has nothing to do with who lives in it or how it is governed. No Commission and no Government can take it away from us and give it to another. Nor need any Arab call it the Land of Israel, since it is so not to him but only to us. It is our Hebrew name for Palestine and does not constitute any bid for power to dominate others.

### THE RELIGION OF NATIONALISM

The old traditional test of Jewish nationalism holds true today. We shall not be able to dwell in Palestine and prosper unless we understand and keep the laws of human fellowship. We are living in the midst of a vast Arab world and our weakness as well as our strength demands that we find the way of peace. Albert Einstein, who is not an orthodox Jew, has said that the Arab problem is a test of Judaism. It is a religious question. To make this national adjustment, to reintegrate ourselves as Easterners in this turmoil and medley of Oriental peoples, is no less a way of salvation, a miracle and a sign, than the return itself of the Jews to their land after two thousand years. The one is bound up with the other. The paving of a way of peace in this highway between East and West, and the hard labor of building a road for the nations, is not a far off ideal but a day to day problem of living together with the Arab majority, now, at this moment, in Palestine. To love our neighbor as ourselves is no easy injunction. But our future depends on our obeying this inner command.

### THE PROPHET IN OPPOSITION

So far we have done very badly. Consequently, we are in great danger. Of all the many problems of the Jewish National Home in Palestine, this is the most pressing. We need a school of Prophets to go out alike to Arab and Jew, to dwell as shepherds in the Arab villages and explain and expound. They will be opposed by both Arab and Jew; yet they will be none the less Jewish for Jewish opposition.

Out of the midst of the Jewish National Home in Palestine will spring those great teachers who oppose the doings of their comrades. Out of the neglect of Jewish ideals within the National Home will spring that opposition, that protagonist of human fellowship, which is the Jewish National Ideal.

# APPENDIX A

## ZIONIST CHRONOLOGY

1. Movements towards Zionism before 1897.

*1840* The Damascus Affair (Blood Accusation).

*1845* Colonel Gawler founds in London a Colonization Society for Jews.

*1854* Sir Moses Montefiore is received by the Sultan; colonizes 35 Jewish families from Safed.

*1856* Ludwig August Frankl founds the Laemel School in Jerusalem.

*1860* Hirsch Kalischer of Thorn and Elias Guttmacher of Graetz make propaganda for the colonization of Palestine.

*1860* Founding of the "Alliance Israelite Universelle."

*1862* Moses Hess publishes *Rome and Jerusalem.*

*1870* The founding of Mikwe Israel under the management of Charles Netter.

*1878* Jews from Jerusalem establish Petah Tikwa.

*1881* Widespread pogroms in Russia. The May Laws enforced.

*1880-1881* First "Alliance" School founded in Haifa.

*1881* Leo Pinsker publishes *Auto-Emancipation.*

*1881* December 24—First Bilu group arrives in Palestine.

*1881* Eliezer ben Jehudah arrives in Palestine and founds "Society for Revival of Israel."

*1881* First Alliance School founded in Jerusalem by Nissim Behar.

*1882* Founding of Rishon Lezion, Nes Ziona, Zichron Jacob and Rosh Pinna.

*1882* Restrictions on Jewish immigration into Palestine.

*1883-1890* Six more colonies established.

*1884* Hoveve Zion Conference at Kattowitz.

*1890* Odessa Committee for colonization of Palestine established by Hoveve Zion.

*1890-1897* Fifteen more colonies established.

*1891* Founding by Baron de Hirsch of the Jewish Colonization Association (I.C.A.).

*1891* Achad Ha-am visits Palestine.

*1892* First girls' and boys' school founded in Jaffa by Hoveve Zion and "Alliance."

*1892* Opening of Jaffa—Jerusalem railway—first in Palestine.

*1894* The Dreyfus Case in Paris.

*1896* Dr. Theodor Herzl publishes the *Jewish State.*

PARALLEL CHRONOLOGY FOR

| *Year* | *Zionism* | *Palestine* | *General Jewish Events* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1897 | First Zionist Congress at Basle, August 29. Establishment of Zionist Organization. | | |
| 1898 | Second Zionist Congress at Basle. | Herzl visits Palestine and meets Kaiser Wilhelm at Mikwe Israel. Porte does not allow land in Palestine to pass into Jewish hands and restricts Jewish immigration. | Persecution of Jews in Russia, Galicia and Algeria. |
| 1899 | Establishment of Jewish Colonial Trust. Third Zionist Congress at Basle. | Four Hebrew Journals published. | Anti-Jewish riots in Russia, Algeria, Bohemia and Moravia. Second trial of Alfred Dreyfus. |
| 1900 | Fourth Zionist Congress held in London. Herzl writes "Altneuland." | Palestine colonies of Baron Edmond de Rothschild ceded to Jewish Colonization Association. Permission granted to Jews settled in Palestine for some time to buy land for agriculture. | Anti-Jewish riots in Russia. |
| 1901 | Fifth Zionist Congress held at Basle. Jewish National Fund founded. | | "Hilfsverein der Deutschen Juden," founded in Germany. |
| 1902 | Herzl appears before Alien Commission in London.<br>First General Conference of Russian Zionists convened at Minsk.<br>Zionist Organization enters into negotiations with British Government concerning offer of El Arish for Jewish settlement. | Terrible drought.<br>Cholera in Jerusalem, Jaffa and Lydda.<br>Jewish emigration from Palestine increases. | Anti-Semitic outbreak in Poland. |

## PARALLEL CHRONOLOGY FOR

| *Year* | *Zionism* | *Palestine* | *General Jewish Events* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1903 | Sixth Zionist Congress held at Basle.<br>Organization of Mizrahi party.<br>Offer of Uganda by British Government.<br>Russian Government forbids Zionist meetings and collections. | Establishment of Anglo-Palestine Company in Jaffa and Jerusalem.<br>Foundation of Teachers' Organization in Zichron Jacob under leadership of Ussishkin.<br>Cholera in country.<br>National Library is bequeathed the library of Prof. Schapira. | Pogroms in Kishinev.<br>General meeting of "Alliance Israelite Universelle." (First since 1881.) |
| 1904 | July 3,—Death of Herzl.<br>Mizrahi Congress meets in Hungary.<br>Jewish National Fund legally established in London. | Second Aliyah begins.<br>Hebrew High School started in Jaffa private house. | Anti-Semitic excesses in Russia and Poland. |
| 1905 | Seventh Zionist Congress at Basle.<br>Zangwill and others secede from Zionist Organization, and found Jewish Territorial Organization. Central office of Zionist Organization transferred to Cologne. | Organization of Hapoel Hazair Labor Party. | Russian revolution—exodus of Jews.<br>Anti-Jewish massacres and excesses in Russia. |
| 1906 | ..... .... ..... | Bezalel School of Arts and Crafts opened in Jerusalem by Jewish National Fund.<br>Jaffa Zionist Information Bureau opened. Good year—fine harvests. | American Jewish Committee organized in United States. |
| 1907 | Eighth Zionist Congress at the Hague.<br>Sultan of Turkey grants interview to David Wolffsohn. | Herzl Gymnasium of Tel Aviv opened. | Anti-Jewish outrages in Roumania and Russia.<br>First group of Jewish immigrants arrives in Galveston under contract of I. T. O. |

PARALLEL CHRONOLOGY FOR

| *Year* | *Zionism* | *Palestine* | *General Jewish Events* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1918 | France, Holland, Greece and Italy declare in favor of Zionism.<br>Pittsburgh Convention in America, reorganization of Zionist Organization of America.<br>President Wilson writes letter endorsing Zionism. | English Zionist Commission headed by Dr. Weizmann arrives in Palestine.<br>American Zionist Medical Unit goes to Palestine. Foundation stone of Hebrew University on Mt. Scopus laid. | Serious pogroms in Eastern Europe.<br>Treaty of Brest-Litovsk in Russia.<br>Nov. 11, Armistice signed.<br>First American Jewish Congress held in Philadelphia. |
| 1919 | International Zionist Conference held in London.<br>Zionist Central office established in London.<br>Weizmann, Sokolow, Ussishkin, appear before Peace Conference in Paris as representatives of Zionist Organization. | Trumpeldor and followers killed at Tel Hai. | Pogroms in Ukraine under Petlura government. |
| 1920 | Peace Conference in San Remo confers Palestine Mandate upon Great Britain.<br>Zionist Conference in London elects Dr. Weizmann as president of Zionist Organization. Keren Hayesod established. | Sir Herbert Samuel assumes office as High Commissioner.<br>Hebrew recognized as an official language of Palestine.<br>Third immigration of young Halutzim.<br>Anti-Jewish riots in Jerusalem. | Hungary passes the Numerus Clausus Law. |
| 1921 | Twelfth Zionist Congress at Carlsbad. | Anti-Jewish riots in Jaffa and elsewhere.<br>Check on immigration. | |
| 1922 | Palestine Mandate ratified by League of Nations in London—July 24.<br>Churchill White Paper. | | |

PARALLEL CHRONOLOGY FOR

| *Year* | *Zionism* | *Palestine* | *General Jewish Events* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1923 | Thirteenth Zionist Congress at Carlsbad. (Mandate confirmed by League of Nations.) | | |
| 1924 | ..... | Opening of Institute of Jewish Studies of Hebrew University.<br>Immigration boom.<br>Beginning of Haifa Bay Land purchase by Jewish National Fund.<br>Opening of Haifa Technicum. | |
| 1925 | Fourteenth Zionist Congress held at Vienna. | Opening of Hebrew University Apr. 1.<br>Lord Plumer succeeds Sir Herbert Samuel as High Commissioner of Palestine. | Beginning of great economic distress in Poland.<br>Reconstruction program of Joint Distribution Committee. |
| 1926 | ..... | | International Peace Conference meeting in Geneva condemns anti-semitism.<br>Much anti-semitism in Roumania. |
| 1927 | Fifteenth Zionist Congress in Basle. | Rutenberg hydro-electric works begun.<br>Straus Health Center opened in Jerusalem.<br>Much unemployment in Palestine—economic depression. | |
| 1928 | Non-Zionist Conference in New York City. | Dead Sea Concession granted to Novomeysky.<br>Sir John Chancellor becomes High Commissioner.<br>Kenesseth Israel gains official sanction.<br>Trouble at Wailing Wall. | Norway abolishes Shechita.<br>Riots in Austrian Universities.<br>Economic suffering in Europe.<br>Anti-semitic manifestations in Germany and Poland. |

PARALLEL CHRONOLOGY FOR

| *Year* | *Zionism* | *Palestine* | *General Jewish Events* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1929 | Sixteenth Zionist Congress held in Zurich.<br>First Council of Jewish Agency meets in Zurich, and organizes the enlarged Jewish Agency. | Purchase of Haifa Bay Lands by Jewish National Fund.<br>Straus Health Center in Jerusalem dedicated.<br>Haifa Harbor Works started.<br>Riots in Palestine—August and September. Commission of Inquiry sent by British Government, October 27 to December 27. | Famine in Bessarabia.<br>Zionist Organization of America organizes Palestine Emergency Fund after the riots in Palestine. |
| 1930 | Shaw Commission publishes report, March 1931.<br>Jewish Agency submits Memorandum to League of Nations Secretariat analyzing Shaw Report—May.<br>Sir John Hope Simpson goes to Palestine May 1.<br>Passfield White Paper—Oct. 20.<br>Weizmann, Warburg and Melchett resign.<br>Mass meetings of protest—New York City, October 22.<br>Mandates Commission approves Agency Memorandum and reproves Great Britain. | Jewish National Fund Head Office building opened in Rehavia, Jerusalem.<br>David Wolffsohn Building opened, housing library of Hebrew University. | Anti-Semitism in Germany.<br>Suppression of religion in Russia.<br>Protests of American Jews against religious persecution by Soviet Russia.<br>Economic conditions in United States endanger philanthropic and social work.<br>Hebrew introduced in two high schools in New York City. |
| 1931 | Letter of Premier MacDonald to Dr. Weizmann to explain Passfield White Paper—February.<br>Check on immigration and buying of land.<br>Seventeenth Zionist Congress meets in Basle.<br>Nahum Sokolow elected President of World Zionist Organization. | Sir Arthur Grenfell Wauchope becomes High Commissioner of Palestine. | Continued economic distress in America and Europe. |

## APPENDIX B

### SURVEY OF THE PRINCIPAL JEWISH AGRICULTURAL SETTLEMENTS *

An * denotes that the settlement has been financed by the Keren Hayesod (wholly or in part); two ** denote that the settlement has been financed by the Keren Hayesod (wholly or in part) and established on J.N.F. land. The simple underlining of the name means that the settlement is of the *Kvutzah* type; the double underlining that it is of the *Moshav* type. Figures are approximate.

| Name | Year of foundation | Number of inhabitants | Area in dunams |
|---|---|---|---|
| JUDEA (near Jerusalem) | | | |
| 1. Kiriyath Anabim ** | 1919 | 101 | 500 |
| 2. Moza | 1894 | 137 | 700 |
| 3. Ataroth ** | 1920 | 66 | 240 |
| 4. Neve Jacob | 1925 | 114 | 1,000 |
| 5. Ramath Rahel ** | 1926 | 100 | 80 |
| 6. Hartob | | | 5,000 |
| JUDEA (South of Tel Aviv) | | | |
| 7. Mikwe Israel | 1870 | 383 | 2,400 |
| 8. Nahalath Yehuda ** | 1913 | 193 | 800 |
| 9. Rishon Lezion | 1882 | 2,480 | 35,700 |
| 10. Nes Ziona | 1882 | 930 | 9,400 |
| 11. Kefar Aharon * | 1927 | 49 | 300 |
| 12. Rehoboth | 1890 | 3,559 | 23,000 |
| 13. Beth Hanan ** | 1929 | 127 | 1,800 |
| 14. Ekron | 1884 | 396 | 14,200 |
| 15. Gedera * | 1885 | 235 | 7,100 |
| 16. Ben Shemen ** | 1906 | 135 | 2,500 |
| 17. Huldah ** | 1909 | 12 | 2,000 |
| 18. Beer Jacob | 1908 | 225 | 2,200 |
| 19. Beer Tuviah ** | 1896 | 200 | 5,500 |
| JUDEA (North of Tel Aviv) | | | |
| 20. Shekhunat Borokhov ** | 1924 | 346 | 1,050 |
| 21. Ramath Gan | 1924 | 732 | 1,350 |
| 22. Bnei Brak * | 1921 | 1,000 | 1,500 |

* From the "Guide to the New Palestine" of the Zionist Information Bureau, Jerusalem.

| Name | Year of foundation | Number of inhabitants | Area in dunams |
|---|---|---|---|
| 23. Petah Tikwa | 1878 | 8,200 | 30,400 |
| 24. Ramathaim * | 1927 | 82 | 400 |
| 25. Ramat Hasharon | 1924 | 230 | 2,000 |
| 26. Herzlia * | 1925 | 1,000 | 14,000 |
| 27. Nataniya | 1928 | 60 | 11,000 |
| 28. Gan Haim | 1928 | 65 | 3,500 |
| 29. Kalmaniak | 1927 | 50 | 1,320 |
| 30. Gan Hasharon | 1928 | 35 | 950 |
| 31. Gan Rahel | 1926 | — | 700 |
| 32. Tel Mond | 1929 | 90 | 13,000 |
| 33. Hadar | 1928 | 40 | 4,000 |
| 34. Magdiel * | 1925 | 700 | 4,800 |
| 35. Kefar Saba | 1892 | 1,059 | 7,200 |
| 36. Kefar Malal ** | 1912 | 204 | 2,400 |
| 37. Raanana (Ahoozah) | 1923 | 530 | 9,700 |
| SHARON VALLEY | | | |
| 38. Gan Shemuel ** | 1913 | 63 | 900 |
| 39. Karkur ** (Kev. & Moshav) | 1913 | 85 | 2,900 |
| 40. Karkur (Ahoozah) | 1913 | 200 | 15,000 |
| 41. Hadera | 1891 | 1,600 | 50,000 |
| 42. Pardesanna | 1925 | 100 | 18,000 |
| 43. Binyamina | 1923 | 381 | 17,900 |
| 44. Shefeya | 1890 | 176 | 2,000 |
| 45. Bat Shelomo | 1891 | 52 | 9,000 |
| 46. Zichron Jacob | 1882 | 1,406 | 15,800 |
| 47. Atlith | 1909 | 231 | 8,100 |
| 48. Givat Ada | 1902 | 127 | 11,400 |
| EMEK (ESDRAELON) | | | |
| 49. Kefar Hassidim ** (Nahlath Jacob) | 1925 | 402 | 9,300 |
| 50. Yagur ** | 1924 | 112 | 3,100 |
| 51. Kefar Yehoshua ** | 1925 | 202 | 5,100 |
| 52. Kefar Baruch ** | 1927 | 163 | 3,500 |
| 53. Beth Shearim ** | 1927 | 10 | 1,100 |
| 54. Sarona ** | 1927 | 43 | 2,200 |
| 55. Hasharon ** | 1927 | 45 | 2,300 |
| 56. Gevat (Agr. Exper. St.) ** | 1927 | 18 | 3,700 |

| Name | Year of foundation | Number of inhabitants | Area in dunams |
|---|---|---|---|
| 57. Gevat ** | 1927 | 73 | 4,100 |
| 58. Mishmar Haemek ** | 1927 | 123 | 5,300 |
| 59. Nahalal ** | 1921 | 493 | 7,900 |
| 60. Ir Jezreel (Afule) * | 1925 | 950 | 16,000 |
| 61. Sheikh Abrek | | 44 | 1,000 |
| 62. Merhabia (Moshav & Kvutzah) | 1911 | 293 | 9,400 |
| 63. Balfouria * | 1919 | 131 | 6,200 |
| 64. Kefar Yeladim | 1924 | | 1,000 |
| 65. Tel Adashim ** | 1924 | 237 | 7,100 |
| 66. Kefar Gideon | 1924 | 124 | 3,500 |
| 67. Mizrah ** | 1924 | 77 | 4,100 |
| 68. Sarid ** | 1924 | 61 | 4,040 |
| 69. Ginegar ** | 1923 | 77 | 3,000 |
| 70. Kefar Yehezkel ** | 1921 | 409 | 4,200 |
| 71. Ein Harod ** | 1921 | 434 | 8,900 |
| 72. Tel Yosef ** | 1921 | 218 | 5,700 |
| 73. Beth Alpha (Hashomer Haz.) ** | 1921 | 134 | 3,500 |
| 74. Hefzibah (Beth Alpha) ** | 1921 | 81 | 2,150 |
| 75. Geva ** | 1921 | 91 | 2,500 |
| LOWER GALILEE | | | |
| 76. Kefar Tabor | 1902 | 242 | 16,000 |
| 77. Sejera | 1899 | 199 | 12,200 |
| 78. Mizpah | 1908 | 59 | 2,500 |
| 79. Kefar Hittim ** | 1924 | 155 | 2,300 |
| 80. Migdal | 1910 | 167 | 6,600 |
| 81. Kinnereth (village) | 1908 | 100 | 2,000 |
| 82. Kinnereth ** | 1908 | 109 | 2,500 |
| 83. Degania A ** | 1909 | 106 | 2,300 |
| 84. Degania B ** | 1920 | 101 | 1,800 |
| 85. Kefar Gun (Markenhof) ** | 1926 | 38 | 1,500 |
| 86. Gesber | 1923 | 66 | 4,100 |
| 87. Tel Or—Naharaim (Ruthenberg Central St. of the Palestine Electric Corp.) | 1927 | 200 | 7,000 |

| Name | Year of foundation | Number of inhabitants | Area in dunams |
|---|---|---|---|
| 88. Menahemiya | 1902 | 98 | 15,300 |
| 89. Bethanya | 1913 | 40 | 900 |
| 90. Yavniel | 1902 | 385 | 24,400 |
| 91. Beth Gan | 1904 | 146 | 9,000 |
| UPPER GALILEE | | | |
| 92. Rosh Pinna | 1882 | 446 | 14,100 |
| 93. Mahanaim (Abandoned) | 1899 | 71 | 2,300 |
| 94. Ayelet Hashahar | 1917 | 67 | 4,400 |
| 95. Mishmar Hayarden | 1890 | 103 | 9,200 |
| 96. Yessud Hamaalah | 1883 | 162 | 11,400 |
| 97. Tel Hai-Kfar Giladi | 1917 | 151 | 6,100 |
| 98. Metulla | 1896 | 172 | 9,600 |

# APPENDIX C

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This list of books has been compiled with the purpose of furthering the study of the topics treated in the book. The choice of titles was based on the availability and recency of the material treated. Only books in English were included. Documentary material is listed freely to enable the reader to go to those sources for first hand information. The books of travel and description give a living picture of what Jews are doing in Palestine. A chosen list of books on general Jewish history and social condition was felt necessary as a background for the understanding of Zionism.

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